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ANNEX

ANNEX 1
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University of Michigan Studies

HUMANISTIC SERIES

VOLUME I

**ROMAN HISTORICAL SOURCES AND
INSTITUTIONS**

•The M Co.

**ROMAN HISTORICAL SOURCES
AND INSTITUTIONS**

EDITED BY
HENRY A. SANDERS
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

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PREFACE

This series of Studies will present contributions in the philological and philosophical departments. Each volume will be in charge of a single author or editor. Volumes are in preparation by Professor George Hempl, Professor Francis W. Kelsey, Professor Robert M. Wenley, Professor Joseph H. Drake, Dr. Clarence L. Meader and others.

The editor of this first volume wishes to make acknowledgment of special obligation to the Honorable Arthur Hill, Regent of the University of Michigan, for generous help in making possible the publication of the volume, and to Professors Kelsey and Drake, Dr. Meader and Dr. Duane Reed Stuart for kind assistance in carrying the book through the press.

HENRY A. SANDERS.

ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN,
June 6, 1904.



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THE MYTH ABOUT TARPEIA.

Since the time of Niebuhr the mythical character of the early Roman history has been generally conceded, though there has been much difference of opinion as to the amount of truth which may lie concealed under the individual myths. Many of these, the so-called aetiological myths, have been proved to be nothing more than popular explanations of names, places and customs, the true origin of which had been forgotten. Others have not yielded so readily to the attempts of investigators, but none have escaped scrutiny. Among them all the myth of Tarpeia presents perhaps the most varied problem. Of the many scholars, who have mentioned or discussed this myth, we may name the following: Niebuhr,¹ Schwenk,² Schwegler,³ Mommsen,⁴ Pfund,⁵ Lewis,⁶ Zeyss,⁷ Corssen,⁸ Krahnert,⁹ Preuner,¹⁰ Lutjohann,¹¹ Ihne,¹² Tuerk,¹³ Rohde,¹⁴ Jordan,¹⁵ Preller¹⁶ and Marquardt.¹⁷

¹ Römische Geschichte, vol. 1, p. 355 ff.

² Rhein. Mus., vol. 1 (1842), p. 444 (Etymology).

³ Röm. Gesch., vol. 1, pp. 462 and 485.

⁴ Röm. Gesch., vol. 1¹, p. 35.

⁵ Altitalische Rechtsalterthümer, p. 196.

⁶ Credibility of Early Roman History, vol. 1, p. 423.

⁷ Zeitschrift für Alterthumswissenschaft, 1857, n. 29.

⁸ Origines Poes. Rom., pp. 183-5.

⁹ Die Sage von der Tarpeia, Prog., Friedland, 1858.

¹⁰ Hestia-Vesta, pp. 273, 402.

¹¹ Com. Propert. Kiel, 1869, p. 49.

¹² Early Rome, p. 33.

¹³ De Propert. carm. auct. (Halle, 1868), p. 33.

¹⁴ Der griechische Roman, p. 82.

¹⁵ Topographie der Stadt Rom, vol. 2, p. 464.

¹⁶ Römische Mythologie, vol. 2³, p. 351.

¹⁷ Handb. röm. Alter., vol. 6, p. 311.

The treatment of the myth by Krahnert deserves particular mention; he made a systematic study of it, though he completed and published only the first part of the work. In that we find a collection of nearly all the more important versions of the myth in Greek and Latin authors and a rough classification of them according to age and reliability. But even this part of the investigation was injured by the author's manifest desire to find an historical basis for the story, the proof of which was promised for the second part of the work. His division of the subject is the natural one and I shall in like manner treat first the sources and development of the literary forms of the myth, reserving the discussion of the origin for the second chapter.

I. THE VERSIONS OF THE MYTH AND THEIR SOURCES.

According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Ant. Rom. 2, 38-40) the two earliest annalists, Fabius Pictor and Cincius Alimentus, agreed in their statements about Tarpeia. Their version, there contrasted with the later one of Piso, is as follows:¹

‘From the height a certain maiden, Tarpeia by name, the daughter of a famous man, who was the commander of the garrison of the stronghold, was viewing the Sabines and, as Fabius and Cincius write, was seized with a longing for the rings and bracelets which they wore on their left arms; for the Sabines in those days wore gold ornaments

¹ *Τοὺς Σαβίνους . . . παρθένος τις ἀπὸ τοῦ μετεώρου κατεσκόπει θνητὴν ἀνδρὸς ἐπιφανοῦς, ἣ προσέκειτο ἢ τῆς χωρίου οὐρακῆς, Τάρπεια ὄνομα· καὶ αὐτήν, ὡς μὲν Φάβιος τε καὶ Κίγκιος γράφουσιν, ἔρωσ εἰσέρχεται τῶν ψελλίων, ἃ περὶ τοῖς ἀριστερῶν βραχίουσιν ἐφόρου, καὶ τῶν δακτυλίων· χρυσοφόροι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ Σαβίνοι τότε καὶ Τυρρηνῶν οὐχ ἥττον ἀβροδίατοι· ὡς δὲ Πείσων Λεύκιος ὁ τιμητικὸς ἱστορεῖ, καλοῦν πράγματος ἐπιθνημία γυμνοῖς τῶν σκεπαστηρίων ὄπλων παραδοῦναι τοῖς πολίταις τοὺς πολεμίους. ὀπότερον δὲ τοῦτων ἀληθέστερόν ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν ὑστερον γενομένων ἐξεστὶν εἰκάζειν.*

Πέμψασα δ' οὖν τῶν θεραπεαινίδων τινα διὰ πυλίδος, ἣν οἰδεῖς ἔμαθεν ἀνοργαμένην, ἤξιον τὸν βασιλεῖα τῶν Σαβίνων ἐλθεῖν αὐτῇ δίχα τῶν ἄλλων εἰς



and were no less effeminate than the Etruscans . . . (Variant from Piso.)

'So she sent one of her maid-servants through a gate which no one knew was open and asked the Sabine king to come alone to her for a conference; she would speak with him about an important and necessary matter. When Tatius had received word of the hoped-for betrayal and had come to the appointed place, the maiden came out to him and said that her father had gone away from the garrison for the night on account of some business; that she kept the keys of the gates and that if they would come at night, she would betray the citadel to them, receiving as pay for the treachery the ornaments which all the Sabines wore on their left arms. Tatius agreed, and she took pledges on oath from him, likewise herself giving them,

λόγους, ὡς ἐκεῖνι διαλεξομένη περὶ πράγματος ἀναγκαίου καὶ μεγάλου. δεξαμένην δὲ τοῦ Τατίου τὸν λόγον κατ' ἐλπίδα προδοσίας καὶ συνελθόντος εἰς τὸν ἀποδειχθέντα τόπον, προελθοῦσα εἰς ἐφικτὸν ἢ παρθένος ἐξεληλυθῆναι μὲν νυκτὸς ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου τὸν πατέρα αὐτῆς ἔφη χρείας τινὸς ἕνεκα, τὰς δὲ κλείς αὐτῇ φυλάττειν τῶν πυλῶν καὶ παραδῶσειν αὐτοῖς τὸ ἔρυμα νυκτὸς ἀφικόμενοι μισθὸν τῆς προδοσίας λαβοῦσα τὰ φορήματα τῶν Σαβίνων, ἃ περὶ τοῖς εὐωνύμοις εἶχον ἅπαντες βραχίσιον. εὐδοκούντος δὲ τοῦ Τατίου λαβοῦσα τὰς πίστει δι' ὄρκων παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτῇ δοῦσα τοῦ μὴ ψεῦδεσθαι τὰς ὁμολογίας τόποι τε ὄρισσα, ἐφ' ὃν ἔδει τοὺς Σαβίνους ἔλθειν, τὸν ἐχυρώτατον καὶ νυκτὸς ὤραν τὴν ἀφυλακτοτάτην ἀπήει καὶ τοὺς ἐνδον ἔλαθε.

Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτων συμφέρονται πάντες οἱ Ῥωμαίων συγγραφεῖς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑστέρον λεγομένοις οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσι. Πείσων γὰρ ὁ τιμητικὸς, ἀγγελὸν φησιν ὑπὸ τῆς Ταρπείας ἀποσταλῆναι νύκτωρ ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου δηλώσοντα τῷ Ῥωμῆφι τὰς γενομένας τῇ κόρῃ πρὸς τοὺς Σαβίνους ὁμολογίας, ὅτι μέλλοι τὰ σκεπαστήρια παρ' αὐτῶν αἰτεῖν ὅπλα διὰ τῆς κοινότητος τῶν ὁμολογιῶν παρακρουσαμένη, δύναντι τε ἀξιώσοντα πέμπειν ἐπὶ τὸ φρούριον ἔτερον νυκτὸς, ὡς αὐτῷ στρατηλάτῃ παραληφόμενον τοὺς πολεμίους γυμνοῦς τῶν ὀπλῶν· τὸν δὲ ἀγγελὸν αὐτομολήσαντα πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν Σαβίνων κατήγορον γενέσθαι τῶν τῆς Ταρπείας βουλευμάτων. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Φάβιον τε καὶ Κίγκιον οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο γεγόνεαι λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ φυλάξει τὴν κόρην διαβεβαιοῦνται τὰς περὶ τῆς προδοσίας συνθήκας.

Τὰ δ' ἐξῆς ἅπαντες πάλιν ὁμοίως γράφουσι. φασὶ γὰρ ὅτι παραγενομένου σὺν τῷ κρατίστῳ τῆς στρατιᾶς μέρει τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Σαβίνων φυλάττουσα τὰς

not to break the agreement; after pointing out the strongest place as the one to which the Sabines must come, and the least guarded hour of the night as the time, she went back without being observed by those within. Thus far all Roman historians agree. . . . (Variant from Piso.)

'And in the following all agree; for they say that when the Sabine king came with the best part of his forces, Tarpeia kept her promise and opened for the enemy the gate agreed upon, but rousing up the guards of the citadel, she bade them save themselves quickly by other passages invisible to the enemy, as the Sabines already held the stronghold. When these had fled, the Sabines finding the gates open took the deserted citadel, and Tarpeia, having done as she agreed, demanded the pay for her treachery in accordance with the oaths. . . . (Variant from Piso.)

'Fabius, however, refers the deceit in the agreement to the Sabines, for, though they ought to have given the gold demanded by Tarpeia, according to the agreement, angry at the amount of the pay, they threw their shields upon her, alleging that they promised, when they took the oath, to give her these.'

ἡποσχέσσεσσι ἢ Τάρπεια τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἀνέψξε τὴν σιγῆκεῖμένην πυλῖδα, τοὺς δ' ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ φύλακας ἀναστήσασα διαταχέων σώζειν ἑαυτοὺς ἤξιον καθ' ἑτέρας ἐξόδους τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀφανείς, ὡς κατεχόντων ἰδὴ τῶν Σαβίνων τὸ φρούριον· διαφρόντων δὲ τούτων τοὺς μὲν Σαβίνους ἀνεωγμένας εὐροντας τὰς πύλας κατασχέειν τὸ φρούριον ἔρημον τῶν φυλάκων, τὴν δὲ Τάρπειαν ὡς τὰ παρ' ἑαυτῆς ὄσα συνέθετο παρεσχημένῃ ἀξιούσιν τοὺς μισθοὺς τῆς προδοσίας κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους ἀπολαβεῖν.

Ἐπειτα πάλιν ὁ μὲν Πείσιων φησὶ τῶν Σαβίνων τὸν χρυσὸν ἐτόίμων ὄντων διδόναι τῇ κόρῃ τὸν περὶ τοὺς ἀριστεροὺς βραχίονα τὴν Τάρπειαν οὐ τὸν κόσμον ἰλλὰ τοὺς θυρεοὺς παρ' αὐτῶν αἰτεῖν. Τατίφ δὲ θυμὸν τε εἰσελθεῖν ἐπὶ τῇ ἰξαπάτῃ καὶ λογισμὸν τοῦ μὴ παραβῆναι τὰς ὁμολογίας. δόξαι δ' ὅτι αὐτῷ δοῦναι μὲν τὰ ὅπλα, ὥσπερ ἢ παῖς ἤξιωσε, ποιῆσαι δ' ὅπως αὐτοὺς μηδὲν λαβοῦσα χρίσεται, καὶ αὐτίκα διατεινόμενον ὡς μάλιστα ἰσχύος εἶχε ῥίψαι τὸν θυρεὸν κατὰ τῆς κόρης καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πυρακελεύσασθαι ταὐτὸ ποιεῖν. οὕτω δὲ βυλλομένην πάντοθεν τὴν Τάρπειαν ὑπὸ πλῆθους τε καὶ ἰσχύος τῶν πλεῶν πεσεῖν καὶ περιωρενθεῖσαν ἰπὸ τῶν θυρεῶν ἀποθανεῖν.

Though Dionysius cites Fabius and Cincius three times in the course of the story, there can be no doubt that they should be held responsible for no more than the general outline, for he twice varies his form of citation to 'all Roman historians agree' and to 'all say'; so detailed an account, furthermore, would be impossible in the brief statements of the oldest annalists. The details must be explained as in part drawn from the later annalists and in part the natural additions made by Dionysius himself. To Fabius we may assign hardly more than the skeleton of the version just given. According to Dionysius, Cincius had the same version as Fabius and it is likely that he copied it from him. The succeeding annalists seem to have imitated these, until L. Calpurnius Piso, who denied a large part of the accepted version on the ground that it was inconsistent with a religious custom known to him. The changes in his version, quoted and accepted as correct by Dionysius in the passage just cited, are as follows:

'Piso records that it was the desire of a noble deed, to betray to her own citizens the enemy stripped of their shields. . . . For Piso says that a messenger was sent at night by Tarpeia from the citadel to reveal to Romulus the agreement between the maiden and the Sabines and to say that she was going to demand their shields, for she had misled them by the vagueness of the agreement; so she asked him to send another force to the citadel by night, as she was going to receive from the commander himself the enemy stripped of their arms; but the messenger de-

Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Φάβιον ἐπὶ τοῖς Σαβίνοις ποιῶσι τὴν τῶν ὁμολογιῶν ἀπάτην· δέον γὰρ αὐτοὺς τὸν χρυσόν, ὡσπερ ἡ Τάρπεια ἤξιον, κατὰ τὰς ὁμολογίας ἀποδίδόναι, χαλεπαίνοντας ἐπὶ τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ μισθοῦ τὰ σκεπαστήρια κατ' αὐτῆς βαλεῖν, ὡς ταῦτα ὅτε ὤμνησαν αὐτῇ δάσειν ὑπεσχημένοις.

'Εοικε δὲ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα γενόμενα τὴν Πείσωνος ἀληθεστέραν ποιεῖν. τάφου τε γὰρ ἐνθα ἐπεσεν ἤξιωμα τὸν ἱερώτατον τῆς πόλεως κατέχουσα λῶσον, καὶ χούς αὐτῇ 'Ρωμαῖοι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπιτελοῦσι (λέγω δὲ ἃ Πείσων γράφει).

serted to the leader of the Sabines and betrayed the plans of Tarpeia. . . .

'Piso says further, that when the Sabines were ready to give the gold to the girl, she demanded from them, not the ornaments upon their left arms, but the shields; then Tatius was filled with anger at the deceit and took thought that he might not break the agreement; so it seemed best to him to give the shields as the girl demanded, but to do this in such a way that she would not use them when she had received them; immediately exerting all his strength he hurled his shield at the girl and bade the others do the same; so Tarpeia, struck on all sides, fell under the number and weight of the blows, and perished by being buried under the shields. . . .

'But the custom existing later makes the version of Piso seem the more probable, for she was deemed worthy of a grave, where she fell, occupying the most sacred hill of the city, and the Romans yearly made libations to her. (I am repeating what Piso writes.)'

Thus we have Piso's¹ authority for the statement that Tarpeia's grave was on the Capitoline near the Tarpeian rock, and that there the Romans made yearly libations. By these libations we must understand public yearly offerings to the dead, such as those made on the occasion of the Parentalia or Feralia in February. All the other changes in the version of Piso are to be regarded as his own inventions, made in the attempt to bring the myth into accord with this religious custom with which he was familiar; they need no further discussion. The burial of Tarpeia, a Vestal virgin, on the Capitoline hill is vouched for also by Varro, L. L. 5, 41: *Hic mons ante Tarpeius dictus a virgine Vestale Tarpeia, quae ibi ab Sabinis necata armis et sepulta, cuius nominis monumentum*

¹ Krahner (pp. 13 and 24) without reason denies the authority of Piso for this statement. As the citation is plain, he must accuse Dionysius of intentional deception, of which there is no proof.

relictum, quod etiam nunc eius rupes Tarpeium appellatur saxum.

The same statement, with additions, is repeated by Plutarch, Rom. 18: ¹ 'After Tarpeia had been buried there, it was called the Tarpeian hill, until, upon the dedication of the hill to Jupiter by King Tarquin, both the remains were taken away and at the same time the name of Tarpeia was dropped, except that the cliff on the Capitoline, from which they hurl criminals, is still called the Tarpeian Rock'. If it were true that the remains of Tarpeia were removed by King Tarquin, then offerings could not have been made at her grave on the Capitoline in the time of Piso. But we need attach no weight to the statement, for it is only an easy combination, made by Plutarch himself; knowing the story which was told to explain the name Capitoline,² that a human head was found by Tarquin when laying the foundations of the temple of Jupiter, he inferred that the head came from the grave of Tarpeia, which was thus destroyed.

Festus also bears witness to the burial of Tarpeia on the hill as well as Servius and the scholiast to Lucan, whose references we shall discuss later.

Another early version of the myth appears in a citation by Plutarch, Rom. 17: ³ 'Untrustworthy are those who relate that Tarpeia was the daughter of Tatius, leader of the Sabines, but forced to live in wedlock with Romulus, and that she committed these acts and suffered at the hands of her father; and among these writers is Antigonus.'

¹ Τῆς μέντοι Ταρπηίας ἐκεῖ ταρφείσης ὁ λόφος ὠνομάζετο Ταρπήιος, ἄχρι οὗ Ταρκυνίου βασιλείως Διὶ τὸν τόπον καθιερούντος ἅμα τε τὰ λείψανα μετηνέχθη καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς Ταρπηίας ἐξέλιπε. Πλὴν πέτραν ἐτι νῦν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ Ταρπηίαν καλοῦσιν, ἀφ' ἧς ἐρρίπτουν τοὺς κακούργους.

² Cf. Varro, L. L. 5, 41; Livy, 1, 55; Arnobius, 6, 7; Chronograph a. 354, p. 144 (M); Isidor, Origin. 15, 2, 31.

³ ἀπίθανοι μὲν εἰσιν οἱ Τατίου θυγατέρα τοῦ ἡγεμόνος τῶν Σαβίνων οὖσαν αὐτήν, ῥωμύλῳ δὲ βία συνοικοῦσαν, ἱστοροῦντες ταῦτα ποιῆσαι καὶ παθεῖν ἰπὲρ τοῦ πατρός· ὧν καὶ Ἀντιγόνης ἐστι.

This Antigonus is also mentioned by Dionysius Hal. 1, 6, where he is joined with Polybius and Silenus. On the basis of this he is generally dated in the second century B. C. and his version of the myth may be classed as parallel with that in Fabius, from which its chief difference is in the personality of Tarpeia. A Greek writer could hardly learn the popular myth so directly as a native Roman, but this divergence seems at least to indicate that the personality of Tarpeia was not definitely fixed in the popular mind at this early period. Antigonus must also have related the reason for Tarpeia's death differently, for the regular version gives no plausible reason why Tatius should kill his own daughter; but of that we have no hint here.

We now turn to the next stage in the development of the myth as found in Livy, 1, 11:

Consilio etiam additus dolus. Sp. Tarpeius Romanae praeerat arci. huius filiam virginem auro corrumpit Tatius, ut armatos in arcem accipiat; aquam forte ea tum sacris extra moenia petatum ierat; accepti obrutam armis necavere, seu ut vi capta potius arx videretur, seu prodendi exempli causa, ne quid usquam fidum proditori esset. Additur fabulae, quod vulgo Sabini aureas armillas magni ponderis brachio laevo gemmatosque magna specie anulos habuerint, pepigisse eam, quod in sinistris manibus haberent; eo scuta illi pro aureis donis congesta. Sunt, qui eam ex pacto tradendi, quod in sinistris manibus esset, derecto arma petisse dicant, et fraude visam agere sua ipsam peremptam mercede.

This passage was drawn from three different sources: the portion from *additur fabulae* to *congesta* was taken from Fabius, whose version we have already found in Dionysius; and the last portion, from *sunt qui* to the end, was taken from Piso, whose changes we discussed in the same place. On the other hand in the first part, down to *additur fabulae*, Livy presents several additions to the earlier forms of the myth: Tarpeius has become Spurius Tarpeius, Tarpeia, a Vestal virgin, and she meets Tatius, when she has gone

outside of the walls to bring water for the sacrifices. Livy does not indeed use the adjective *Vestalis* in naming Tarpeia, as Varro had done in the passage above cited, but *virgo* as an appositive to *filia* can well have that meaning, especially as the sacrifices are mentioned. The later Roman historians have used it in the same way in speaking of Tarpeia, and we often find elsewhere *virgo* alone meaning a Vestal;¹ examples are to be found in Horace, *Od.* 3, 30, 9; Propert. 4, 4, 92; Cic., *De harus. resp.* 13; *Cat.* 3, 9; *Brut.* 67, 236; Ovid, *Fast.* 4, 639; Plin. *Ep.* 7, 19, 2; Tac. *An.* 4, 16; Aul. Gell. 1, 12, 1; August. *De civ. Dei* 3, 28; Serv. ad Verg. *Aen.* 7, 153; Hieronym. a. 1739.

Though Varro gives but one of the additions found in Livy, he gives the important one, that Tarpeia was a Vestal; we naturally infer that they all stood in his source. In his brief reference to the myth he had no occasion to give more. His source was either the same as that used by Livy, or at least nearly related to it: Where did this earlier historian find the additions? Is there any foundation for them? The name Spurius was evidently borrowed from the only historical Tarpeius, that is, the consul for the year 454 B. C., Spurius Tarpeius Montanus Capitolinus.²

Among the four first Vestal virgins was a Tarpeia according to Plutarch, *Numa* 10.³ Though the impossibility of this story as a whole must be admitted, the inventor undoubtedly made use of certain facts as a foundation. A priesthood, which preserved its archives so inviolably that wills of emperors⁴ and solemn treaties⁵ were intrusted to its keeping, must have kept with care its own records. How far back these extended can not be known, though they might easily antedate the burning of Rome by the Gauls,

¹ Cf. Preuner, *Hestia-Vesta* p. 290 n. 2.

² Cf. *Fasti* in C. I. L. I,² p. 104.

³ Cf. also Dionysius Hal. 2, 67, though he omits the names.

⁴ Cf. Tac. *An.* 1, 8; Sueton. *Caes.* 83; *Aug.* 101; Plut. *Anton.* 58.

⁵ Cf. Appian, B. C. 5, 73; Dio Cass. 48, 37 and 46.

for Livy (5, 40) tells us, that at this time the Vestals preserved the sacred things by burying a part and carrying the rest to Caere. From such records or from a tradition preserved among the Vestals themselves, the inventor of the story about the establishment of the worship of Vesta by Numa derived the knowledge that in earlier times there were only four Vestals instead of six, and there is no reason for refusing a similar source to the names of Vestals cited by Plutarch, if we consider them the first Vestals, whose names were handed down to posterity.¹

Returning now to the myth as we find it in Livy and Varro, we can explain the addition that Tarpeia was a Vestal as a combination by an historian, who knew of the yearly offerings at her grave and had found the name of a Tarpeia, who was one of the first Vestals. This addition, then, is of the same character as that of the name Spurius, for both arise out of a confusion of the characters in the myth with historical persons. But both imply a searching into the earlier records, such as we find in the case of C. Licinius Macer, an annalist of the time of Sulla and the first to cite the *libri lintei*, or in that of Aelius Tubero, who followed him in the same line of historical research.

When Tarpeia has been accepted as a Vestal, the statement that she met Tatius while bringing water for the sacrifices is a natural addition; for all Romans knew that the priestesses of Vesta must get the water for the sacrifices from a living spring—that of Egeria or of the Camenae. All these additions thus point to a single author, who must have been a later annalist, as his opposition to Fabius and Piso in the account of Livy plainly shows. Therefore, the choice lies between Licinius Macer, Antias and Tubero, though we can not certainly decide which one of the three it was. However the character of Antias and the later

¹ For the existence of chronological lists of the different priest-hoods, cf. Schwegler, *Röm. Gesch.* vol. 1, p. 34. Tarpeia is an honored name in Propert. 1, 16, 2; Virgil, *Aen.* 11, 656.

date of Tubero incline me to accept Macer as the inventor of the additions, and as he was well known and esteemed in the time of Varro also,¹ he may have served as a source for this author as well.²

Ovid makes only brief mention of the myth and may be classed with Livy and the later annalists, to whose account he makes no additions. Thus *Fasti* 1, 260:

Protinus Oebalii rettulit arma Tati
utque levis custos, armillis capta, Sabinos
ad summae tacitos duxerit arcis iter.

and *Meta.* 14, 775:

. . . Tatiisque patresque Sabini
bella gerunt, arcisque via Tarpeia reclusa
dignam animam poena congestis exiit armis.

In both passages Ovid describes the succeeding conflict with Romulus as though the Sabines proceeded at once from the citadel to attack the nearest gate of the city proper, the walls of which came close up to the foot of the Capitoline. The object of this variation from the accepted tradition is to explain the origin of the arch of Janus and it has no connection with Tarpeia. Lewis (*Cred. of Early Rom. Hist.* vol. 1, p. 423) has misunderstood the passages, for he cites Ovid for the statement that the treachery of Tarpeia and the attack of the Sabines were unsuccessful.

Silius Italicus (*Pun.* 13, 843) is indebted to Livy, as we see from the use of the expression *virgo Tarpeia* = Vestal:

hostibus arcem
virgo, immane nefas, adamato prodidit auro
Tarpeia et pactis reseravit claustra Sabinis.

Other imitators of Livy are Valerius Maximus, *Florus*, *Auctor de vir. ill.*, and Servius; the passages follow.

¹ Cf. Cic. *De leg.* 1, 2, 7, *Brut.* 238.

² Krahnert (p. 18) asserts that Livy and Varro present the original form of the myth.

Val. Max. 9, 6, 1 :

Romulo regnante Spurius Tarpeius arci praeerat. cuius filiam virginem aquam sacris petitem extra moenia egressam Tatius ut armatos Sabinos in arcem secum reciperet corripuit, mercedis nomine pactam quae in sinistris manibus gerebant; erant autem in his armillae et anuli magno ex pondere auri. loco potitum agmen Sabinorum puellam praemium flagitantem armis obrutam necavit, perinde quasi promissum, quod ea quoque laevis gestaverant, solvisset. absit reprehensio, quia impia proditio celeri poena vindicata est.

Florus, 1, 1, 12 :

Sabinis proditae portae per virginem Tarpeiam: non dolo sed puella pretium rei quae gerebant in sinistris petiverat, dubium clipeos an armillas; illi ut et fidem solverent et ulciscerentur, clipeis obruere. ita admissis intra moenia hostibus atrox in ipso foro pugna.

Auctor de vir. ill. 2, 5 :

et cum Romae appropinquarent, Tarpeiam virginem nacti, quae aquae causa sacrorum hauriendae descenderat, ei T. Tatius optionem muneris dedit, si exercitum suum in Capitolium perduxisset. Illa petiit, quod in sinistris manibus gerebant, videlicet annulos et armillas; quibus dolose repromissis Sabinos in arcem perduxit, ubi Tatius scutis eam obrui praecepit. nam et ea in laevis habuerant.

Servius ad Verg. Aen. 8, 348 :

nam Tarpeia sedes dicta est a Tarpeia virgine, cum enim Romulus contra Sabinos bella tractaret et Tarpeio cuidam dedisset arcem tuendam, filia eius Tarpeia aqnatum profecta in hostes incidit. quam cum hortarentur ad proditionem arcis, illa pro praemio poposcit ornatum manuum sinistrarum, id est armillas. facta itaque arcis proditione hostes ingeniosa morte promissa solverunt; nam scuta, id est sinistrarum ornatum, super illam iacentes eam luce privarunt. quae illic sepulta Tarpeiae sedi nomen imposuit.¹

¹ Copied by Mythograph, 1, 155.

The similarity of the expressions *quasi promissum solvisset* (Val. Max.), *ut fidem solverent* (Florus), *hostes ingeniosa promissa solverunt* (Servius), and *quibus dolose repromissis* (De vir. ill.) which were not derived from Livy, and the close agreement with Livy in other points,¹ show that the Epítome Livii here served as the means of transmission to these later historians. Valerius Maximus also used the entire Livy for the beginning of his version, and Servius drew the statement about the burial of Tarpeia from Varro. Servius in turn was copied by the Scholiast. ad Lucan. (Weber) 1, 196:

Tarpeia fuit quaedam virgo, quae promisit Sabinis proditionem Romae, si darent ei honorem sinistrae. et capta civitate opprresserunt eam clipeis² aequivocantes; nam et armillae et clipei sunt ornamenta sinistra manus. et ab illa vocatus est mons Tarpeius, ubi sepulta est, in quo monte colebatur Iupiter (repeated 3, 154).

Florus has been generally reckoned on the side of Piso as a defender of Tarpeia, but this view rests on the untenable conjectures *nomine. dolose puella* (Jahn) or *haec dolose* (Roszbach) for the text reading *non dolem sed puellam* in MS. Bamberg., which is corrected by the same hand to *non dolo sed puella*; the same is found in Jordanes, who in 550 A. D. copied Florus. MS. Palatinus (N) of Florus has *nec dolo sed puella*. The text as it stands is unintelligible, but as it had the same form in the time of Jordanes, the corruption must be a very early one. It is probably best explained as an intentional change by some copyist, who thought to give an added force to the passage by an opposition between *dolus* and *puella*. We can, therefore, establish nothing by the MS. readings except this, that *dolus* must have appeared in some form.

More may be gained for the elucidation of the passage of

¹ Cf. also Zonaras below, p. 26.

² Scholiast imitated Florus also.

Florus by comparing with it Augustine, *De civ. Dei* 3, 13: *clausisque portis se tuebantur; quibus dolo apertis admisisque hostibus intra moenia in ipso foro scelerata et nimis atrox inter generos socerosque pugna commissa est.* The words italicized are found in the same connection in Florus; therefore either Augustine copied Florus or both imitated closely the *Epitome Livii*; the former is in this case the more likely supposition. Augustine's use of the word *dolo* gives us the proper suggestion for the emendation of Florus, whom we may either correct to read *his dolo apertis* or, if this seems too violent a change, we may, with Jahn, read *nomine* in place of *non* and complete the sentence with *dolo sunt apertae*. *Proditas* and *dolo* would then be used tautologically, but combinations of these two words are not rare; cf. Livy, 2, 3, *per dolum ac proditorem*. Neither is there any implication that the girl was acting craftily in the expression of Florus, *dubium clipeos an armillas*, for these words form the natural introduction to the following *illi ut fidem solverent*, which indicates deceit by the Sabines and, as we have already shown, came from the *Epitome Livii*. Of interest in this connection is the statement of Hieronymus, a. Abr. 1274: *Tarpeia clipeis Sabinorum obruta unde mons Tarpeius in quo nunc Capitolium*. This is not from Eusebius but was taken from a lost history of the origin of the Roman people,¹ which was in turn influenced by Florus, as indicated by the words *clypeis obruta*.

Having noted the imitations of Livy we turn next to Festus, p. 363 (M):

Tarpelae esse effigiem ita appellari putant quidam in aede Jovis Metellina eius videlicet in memoriam virginis, quae pacta a Sabinis hostibus ea, quae in sinistris manibus haberent, ut sibi darent, intromiserit eos cum rege Tatio, qui postea in pace facienda caverit a Romulo, ut ea Sabinis semper pateret.

The order of the first two lines is confused but the meaning

¹Cf. Mommsen, *Abh. d. sächs. Ges. d. Wissen.*, vol. 1, p. 668.

is plain and as the transposition was perhaps made by Festus himself, while abridging Verrius Flaccus, I shall not emend the passage. The general form of the myth is that of the later annalist used by Varro and Livy, but there are two important additions, due unquestionably to the antiquarian researches of Verrius Flaccus. He first mentions a statue of Tarpeia in the temple of Jupiter, built by Metellus, and refers it to the Tarpeia of the myth. Such a reference is of course worthless, but the existence and name of the statue should not be doubted. The second addition is the connection of the myth with the Porta Pandana. As there are other myths connected with this gate, I shall leave the discussion of it to a later chapter.

Much more striking are the changes introduced into the myth by Propertius, 4, 4:

- Tarpeium nemus et Tarpeiae turpe sepulcrum
 fabor, et antiqui limina capta Iovis.
 lucus erat felix, hederoso conditus antro,
 multaque nativis obstrepit arbor aquis,
 5 Silvani ramosa domus, quo dulcis ab aestu
 fistula poturas ire iubebat oves.
 hunc Tatius fontem vallo praecingit acerno,
 fidaque suggesta castra coronat humo.
 quid tum Roma fuit, tubicen vicina Curetis
 10 cum quateret lento murmure saxa Iovis,
 atque ubi nunc terris dicuntur iura subactis,
 stabant Romano pila Sabina foro?
 murus erant montes; ubi nunc est curia saepta,
 bellicus ex illo fonte bibebat equus.
 15 hinc Tarpeia deae fontem libavit; at illi
 urgebat medium fctillis urna caput.
 et satis una malae potuit mors esse puellae,
 quae voluit flammis fallere, Vesta, tuas?
 vidit arenosis Tatium proludere campis
 20 pictaque per flavas arma levare iugas.
 obstupuit regis facie et regalibus armis,
 interque oblitus excidit urna manus.
 saepe illa immeritae causata est omina Lunae
 et sibi tingendas dixit in amne comas;

- 25 saepe tulit blandis argentea lilia nymphis,
 Romula ne faciem laederet hasta Tati.
 dumque subit primo Capitolia nubila fumo,
 rettulit hirsutis bracchia secta rubis,
 et sua Tarpela residens ita fievit ab arce
- 30 vulnera, vicino non patienda Iovi;
 "ignes castrorum et Tatiæ praetoria turmae
 et famosa oculis arma Sabina meis,
 o utinam ad vestros sedeam captiva Penates,
 dum captiva mei conspicer ora Tati.
- 35 Romani montes et montibus addita Roma
 et valeat probro Vesta pudenda meo.
 ille equus, ille meos in castra reponet amores,
 cui Tatius dextras collocat ipse iugas.
 quid mirum in patrios Scyllam saevisse capillos,
- 40 candidaque in saevos inguina versa canes?
 prodita quid mirum fraterni cornua monstri,
 cum patuit lecto stamine torta via?
 quantum ego sum Ausoniis crimen factura puellis,
 improba, virgineo lecta ministra foco!
- 45 Pallados extinctos si quis mirabitur ignes,
 ignoscat; lacrimis spargitur ara meis.
 cras, ut rumor ait, tota pugnabitur urbe;
 tu cave spinosi rorida terga iugis.
 lubrica tota via est et perfida; quippe tacentes
- 50 fallaci celat limite semper aquas.
 o utinam magicæ nossem cantamina musæ!
 hæc quoque formoso lingua tulisset opem.
 te toga picta decet, non quem sine matris honore
 nutrit inhumanae dura papilla lupæ.
- 55 sic, hospes, pariamne tua regina sub aula?
 dos tibi non humilis prodita Roma venit.
 si minus, at raptæ ne sint impune Sabinae;
 me rape et alterna lege repende vices.
 commissas acies ego possum solvere, nuptæ;
- 60 vos medium palla foedus inite mea.
 adde Hymenææ modos, tubicen fera murmura conde;
 credite, vestra meus molliet arma torus.
 et iam quarta canit venturam bucina lucem
 ipsaque in Oceanum sidera lapsa cadunt.
- 65 experiar somnum, de te mihi somnia quaeram;
 fac venias oculis umbra benigna meis."

- dixit et incerto permisit brachia somno,
 nescia vae Furilis accubuisse novis.
 nam Vesta, Iliacae felix tutela favillae,
 70 culpam alit et plures condit in ossa faces.
 illa ruit qualis celerem prope Thermodonta
 Strymonis abscisso fertur aperta sinu.
 urbi festus erat, dixere Parilia patres;
 hic primus coepit moenibus esse dies,
 75 anna pastorum convivia, lusus in urbe,
 cum pagana madent fercula divitils,
 cumque super raros faeni flammantis acervos
 traicit immundos ebria turba pedes.
 Romulus excubias decrevit in otia solvi
 80 atque intermissa castra silere tuba.
 hoc Tarpeia suum tempus rata convenit hostem;
 pacta ligat, pactis ipsa futura comes.
 mons erat ascensu dubius, festoque remissus;
 nec mora, vocales occupat ense canes.
 85 omnia praebebant somnos; sed Iuppiter unus
 decrevit poenis invigilare tuis.
 prodiderat portaeque fidem patriamque iacentem,
 nubendique petit, quem velit ipsa, diem.
 at Tatius (neque enim sceleri dedit hostis honorem)
 90 "nube" ait "et regni scande cubile mei."
 dixit et ingestis comitum super obruit armis.
 haec, virgo, officils dos erat apta tuis.
 a duce Tarpeio mons est cognomen adeptus;
 o vigil, iniustae praemia sortis habes.

In judging of this presentation of the myth we must recognize the fact that we are dealing with an artistic production, in which a theme is worked out with literary amplification. It is, therefore, not necessary, nor even possible, to find historical sources for the poem as a whole, though traces of many of the earlier forms of the myth are discernible. So we may compare l. 1, *Tarpeiae sepulcrum*, with Varro and Piso; l. 7-12, the position of the Sabine camp, with Fabius; l. 15, *Tarpeia deae fontem libavit*, with Livy; l. 81-2, *pacta ligat*, with Fabius; l. 89, reference to treachery, with Livy and Plutarch; l. 91,

ingestis comitum super obruit armis, with Livy and Piso. On the other hand, the love of Tarpeia for Tatius is an invention by Propertius, or, rather, he inserted love as a motive for treachery as it was already found in the Greek myths about Nanis (Parthenius, 22), Peisidice (Parthenius, 21), Theano (Dyctis Cretensis, 5, 8), Scylla (Virgil. App. Ciris), and Polycrite (Parthenius, 9); cf. E. Rhode, Griech. Roman, p. 82. The opinion of Tuerk,¹ that Propertius used a poem of Callimachus on Scylla as his model, is based on a comparison of the Scylla myth in Ovid's *Meta.* 8, 1-151, and has no weight, though the resemblance of the two is undeniable. The proper explanation is that Ovid imitated the Tarpeia of Propertius in writing the myth about Scylla.² There are, further, many lines in this poem of Propertius, which show the influence of earlier or contemporary writers, as Virgil, Horace, Cicero, Livy, Tibullus and Sophocles; in other passages he agrees in the description of places and in historical allusions with Dionysius, Tacitus, Plutarch, Ovid, Statius and Probus ad Georg.³ The bare mention of these must suffice as they have no real connection with the myth of Tarpeia.

One other important divergence by Propertius from the common form of the myth requires special mention, as it is quite generally removed by the corrections of the editors. In l. 93-4 all the good MSS. read,

a duce Tarpeio mons est cognomen adeptus;
o vigil, iniustae praemia sortis habes.

The attempted correction of *Tarpeio* to *Tarpeia* is a mistaken one, as *vigil* in the next line repeats the thought. Propertius, as also Piso, did not believe that the hill was named from a traitress,⁴ and he probably knew of the

¹ De Propertii carminum auctoribus, p. 26.

² Cf. Schenkl, Deut. Litteraturzeitung, vol. 7 (1886), p. 185.

³ Cf. Tuerk, and Kirchner, de Propertii libro quinto.

⁴ Cf. Lutjohann, Com. Propert. p. 49.

derivation of the name of the hill from Tarpeius, which is given in Festus, p. 343 (M). See below p. 24.

The remark of Plutarch about the burial of Tarpeia we have already treated in connection with Piso, but in Romulus 17 he gives the myth in full, even adding four variants to his accepted version; the third of these has been already treated under Antigonus. The version he accepts is as follows: 'Now the city was hard to assault, since it had the Capitol as a bulwark, on which, was stationed a garrison, and Tarpeius was the commander of it, not the maiden Tarpeia, as some say, representing Romulus as devoid of sense;¹ but Tarpeia, the daughter of the commander, betrayed the Capitol to the Sabines, since she desired the golden bracelets, which she saw them wearing, and she asked as pay for the treachery what they wore on their left arms. When Tatius had agreed to this she opened one gate at night and admitted the Sabines. . . . Tatius bade the Sabines remember the agreement, and begrudge her nothing of what they had on their left arms; and he first taking off his bracelet and shield hurled them and, when all did so, struck by the gold and buried by the shields, she perished under the number and weight of them.'²

The form of the myth here is nearly the same as in Livy,

¹The first variant.

²'Ἐν δὲ δυσπρόσδοξος ἡ πόλις ἔχουσα πρόβλημα τὸ νῦν Καπιτώλιον, ἐν φρουρᾷ καθεισθῆκει καὶ Ταρπήιος ἡγεμῶν αὐτῆς, οὐχὶ Ταρπηία παρθένος, ὡς ἐνιαὶ λέγουσιν, εὐήθη τὸν Ῥωμίλον ἀποδεικνύοντες· ἀλλὰ θυγάτηρ ἡ Ταρπηία τοῦ ἀρχόντος οὐσα προδώκε τοῖς Σαβίνοις, ἐπιθυμήσασα τῶν χρυσῶν βραχιονιστήρων, οὓς εἶδε περικειμένους, καὶ ἤτησε μισθὸν τῆς προδοσίας ἃ φοροῖεν ἐν ταῖς ἀριστεραῖς χερσὶ. Συνθεμένου δὲ τοῦ Τατίου, νίκτωρ ἀνοίξασα πύλην ἰάν ἐδέξατο τοὺς Σαβίνους. . . . (remarks of Antigonus and Caesar about traitors cited). ὁ Τάτιος ἐκέλευσε μεμνημένους τῶν ὁμολογιῶν τοὺς Σαβίνους μισθενὸς αὐτῇ φθονεῖν ὡν ἐν ταῖς ἀριστεραῖς ἔχουσι. καὶ πρῶτος ἅμα τὸν βραχιονιστήρα τῆς χειρὸς περιελὼν καὶ τὸν θυρεὸν ἐπέρριψε. Πάντων δὲ αὐτὸ ποιούντων βαλλομένη τε τῷ χρυσῷ καὶ καταχωσθεῖσα τοῖς θυρεοῖς ὑπὸ πλῆθους καὶ βάρους ἀπέθανεν.

though the influence of Dionysius may be noted in some expressions. The one important addition accepted by Plutarch is that the gold ornaments were also thrown at the girl.

With this version of Plutarch we may compare Pseudo-Plutarch, Parall. 15: 'Tarpeia, a noble maiden, the guardian of the Capitol, when the Romans were at war with the Sabines, promised to give Tatius an entrance to the Tarpeian height, if she should receive as pay, the necklaces, which they wore as ornaments. But the Sabines after considering the matter, buried her alive.' Thus Aristides Milesius in the *Italika*.¹

We find here no mention of the shields, so the implication is that she was buried with the gold. We also find Tarpeia given as the commander of the Capitol, a statement which Plutarch found in one of his authorities and objected to. This authority is probably identical, therefore, with the source of Parall. 15; but that can not have been Aristides Milesius, though so cited by the Pseudo-Plutarch. An author of that name wrote romantic fables, which were translated by Sisenna; but he is not known as a historian. The *Parallela*, a forged treatise, has little or no weight of authority, and in particular it cites this otherwise unknown history of Aristides Milesius nineteen times. Of the nineteen stories only eight are mentioned elsewhere, and of these three have been so changed in form as to be scarcely recognizable. There can be no doubt that the author of the *Parallela* drew from handy sources, or invented, and then added, unknown names as authorities in order to appear learned.

That in this case the Pseudo-Plutarch used some earlier writer is shown by the mention of the same version by

¹ *Ταρπηία τῶν εἰσχημόνων παρθένων, τοῦ Καπιτωλίου φύλαξ, Ῥωμαίων πρὸς Σαβίνους πολεμούντων ὑπέσχετο τῷ Τατίῳ δώσειν εἰσοδὸν εἰς τὸ Ταρπηϊὸν ὄρος, εἰάν μισθὸν λάβῃ τοὺς ὀρμούς, οὓς ἐφόρον κόσμον χάριν. Σαβίνοι δὲ νοήσαντες ζῶσαν κατέχωσαν· ὡς Ἀριστείδης Μιλήσιος ἐν Ἰταλικαῖς.*

Plutarch. This version also appeared in Appian, if the citations in Suidas have been properly corrected and Combined. Compare Suidas, 1) under σφραγίς: ὄρῳσα ἡ Ταρπηία σφραγίδας ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ καὶ ψέλια; 2) under τάτιος and φυλάξασα: 'Ἀρριανός.¹ ἡ δὲ τὸν πατέρα φυλάξασα ἀποδημοῦντα ἰπισχνεῖται Τατίῳ προδώσειν τὸ φρούριον; 3) under λιθάζω: 'Ἀππιανός (MSS. 'Ἀρριανός)' κελεύσαντος δὲ Τατίου τὸν χρυσοὺν εἰς τὴν παῖδα ἐλίθαζον, ἔσται τιτρωσκομένη κατεχώσθη. That these three fragments belong to a single version of the Tarpeia myth is fairly certain, though the assignment to Appian must always rest on conjecture. The myth is here more complete and intelligible than in Pseudo-Plutarch, but in essence it is the same and must come from the same source. If the word δρμου ('necklaces') in Pseudo-Plutarch stood in this source also, then Appian (?) must have corrected it by reference to Livy or Dionysius, but it is more likely that Pseudo-Plutarch made the change under the influence of the Demonice story to which he was writing a parallel. Also his addition of κόσμου χάριν and ζῶσαν are to be similarly explained.

This common source of Plutarch, Pseudo-Plutarch and Appian (?) must have been a Greek also and have used some common Greek version of the myth, such as that in Dionysius, but in making the changes he was undoubtedly influenced by the story of Demonice in Clitophon of Rhodos. We find this cited in the fullest form by Stobaeus, Flor. 10, 71: 'Brennus, the king of the Gauls, while plundering Asia, came to Ephesus and having encamped was awaiting the appointed time for battle; but a certain maiden, Demonice by name, fell in love with the barbarian, and promised to betray Ephesus to him, if she should receive as pay the bracelets and necklaces. But Brennus, having received her at the appointed place, led in his soldiers and directed them to throw into the lap of the

¹ Emended to 'Ἀππιανός.

covetous girl all the gold, which they had for adornment. And when they had obeyed the command, Demonice was buried alive under the abundance of the gold which was thrown.'¹

This story is in turn somewhat indebted to that of Polycrite, which Parthenius (9) cites from the *Ναξιακά* of Andriskos; particularly instructive in this connection is the passage: 'And some presented her with headbands and some with girdles and, burdened by these, the girl was smothered by the amount of things thrown upon her.' But still stronger has been the influence of the Tarpeia myth as it appears in Dionysius and Propertius; for Demonice first falls in love with the king and then promises to betray the city if she shall receive as pay their golden ornaments. His indebtedness to these writers shows that Clitophon can not be dated earlier than the Christian Era. But since the writer who became the common source of Plutarch and Appian imitated Clitophon, he was still later.

Under the influence of Clitophon's Demonice and of Propertius, Simylos wrote his poem on Tarpeia, a fragment of which Plutarch cites (his fourth variant): 'And Tarpeia, dwelling near the Capitoline hill, was destroyer of the walls of Rome; for she, desiring to wed the leader of the Gauls, did not guard the homes of her ancestors. . . . Nor did the Boii and the countless tribes of the Gauls gladly take her within the streams of the Po, but hurling the

¹ Βρέννος ὁ τῶν Γαλατῶν βασιλεὺς λεηλατῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν εἰς Ἐφεσον ἦλθε, καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος περιέμενε τοῦ πολέμου τὴν προθεσμίαν. παρθένος δὲ τις τῶν ἐπισήμων τοῖνομα Δημονίκη εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἐμπροσσοῦσα τοῦ βαρβάρου, προδῶσειν αὐτῷ τὴν Ἐφεσον ἰπέσχετο, εἰὰ μισθὸν λάβοι τὰ ψέλια καὶ τοὺς ὄρμους· ὁ Βρέννος δὲ δεξάμενος αὐτὴν εἰς τόπον ὠρισμένον, ἤγαγε τοὺς ἰποταγαμένους καὶ προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς τὸν χρυσὸν ὅσον εἶχον κόσμον χάριν βάλλειν εἰς τὸν τῆς φιλαργύρου κόλπον. ποιησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ παραγγελθὲν, ἡ Δημονίκη ὑπὸ τῆς σαυφιλίας τοῦ βαλλομένου χρυσοῦ ζῶσα κατεχώσθη.

shields from their left hands upon the cruel girl, they put death upon her as her ornament.¹

We have here the Gauls instead of the Sabines as the enemy, and both motives for the betrayal, love and desire for the ornaments,² as in the Demonice myth; but Simylos has made love the chief cause, as did Propertius.³

The Gauls appear in the myth also in the second scholion to Lucan 1, 196 (Weber): *Capitolium autem dicitur Tarpeium a quadam virgine, quas Tarpeia vocabatur, a Gallis quondam interfecta.* (Et al. manu.) *Ideo dictum, quia sacra Tarpeiae virginis colebantur illic sepultae.* This is not an independent version, but the first statement can be referred to Simylos, that is to Plutarch, and the last to Piso as cited in Dionysius. The scholiast probably had before him a compendium of curious statements gathered from Greek writers, for we find Plutarch, Aristotle, Aratus, Homer, Plato and other Greeks cited by him.

The second variant cited by Plutarch throws a share of the treachery on Tarpeius: 'And Tarpeius also was condemned, being accused of treachery by Romulus, as Juba says that Sulpicius Galba records.'⁴ This Sulpicius Galba was the grandfather of the emperor Galba (born 3 B. C.) and the author of a *historia multiplex nec incuriosa* (cf. Sueton. Galba 3). He must have written early in the

Ἦ δ' ἀγχοῦ Τάρπεια παρὰ Καπιτώλιον αἶπος
ναίουσα Ῥώμης ἐπλετο τειχοπέτις,
Κελτῶν ἢ στέρξασα γαμήλια λέκτρα γενέσθαι
σκιπτούχῳ πατέρων οὐκ ἐφίλαξε δόμους.
καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς·
Τὴν δ' οὐτάρ βοιοῖτε καὶ ἔθνεα μυρία Κελτῶν
χηράμενοι βεῖθρων ἐντὸς ἔθεντο Πάδου·
ἄπλα δ' ἐπιπροβαλόντες ἀρειμανέων ἀπὸ χειρῶν
κούρη ἐπὶ στυγερῇ κόσμον ἔθεντο φόνου.

¹This is not definitely stated in the fragment preserved, but is plainly implied by the word *κόσμον* in the last line.

²Cf. Rohde, *Der griech. Roman*, p. 96.

⁴Ἐάλω δὲ καὶ Ταρπηίας προδοσίας ὑπὸ Ῥωμύλου διωχθεῖς, ὡς Ἰόβας φησὶ Γάλβαν Σουλπίκιον ἱστορεῖν.

Augustan age and his history contained many strange and interesting statements. *Multiplex* is more difficult to interpret; it may refer to the size of the work, but I am rather inclined to think that the collection of the various myths about the early Roman heroes and the bringing together of the contradictory versions of the later history were the very characteristics of the work, which Suetonius refers to in the word *multiplex*.

With Galba's version of the myth we may compare a fragmentary passage of Festus, p. 343 (M):

. . . . [Sa-]
 xum Tarpeium appel [latam aiunt partem mon-]
 tis, qui ob sepultam Ta[rpeiam ibi virginem, quae]
 eum montem Sabinis pro[dere pacta erat, ita]
 nominatus est. vel [ab eo, quod quidam nomine]
 L. Tarpeius Romulo [regi cum propter rap-]
 tas virgines adversa[retur, in ea parte, qua sa-]
 xum est, de noxio poena [sumpta est. Quapropter]
 noluerunt funestum locum [cum altera parte]
 Capitolii coniungi.

The portion in brackets are the early Italian restorations as given in Müller's edition. Leaving those out of consideration we have plainly indicated two explanations for the name of the Tarpeian rock. In the first the name is connected with Tarpeia as in Varro, while the second refers it to Tarpeius in a manner somewhat similar to that of Plutarch's citation from Galba, though the latter has combined the story of Tarpeius with the Tarpeia myth, or found it so combined in his source. The uncontaminated form of the Tarpeius myth was certainly the older, so it is likely that Verrius Flaccus drew it from one of the earlier annalists. It is not in any way indebted to the Tarpeia myth, but is an independent explanation of the origin of the same names and customs and as such must be traced in its origin back to a popular tradition. This version of the myth is also suggested by the lines of Propertius (4, 4, 93-4) discussed on p. 18.

Turning now to the restorations made in the text of Festus by Italian scholars, we find some so obvious, that their correctness can hardly be called in question; others, however are mere attempts to fill out the lines without saying anything. A careful comparison of the portions of Festus, where the lines are complete, gives the length of the line as ranging from 34 to 43 letters. The larger number occurs only when there are many abbreviations possible (cf. Müller, Pref. IV). Leaving out the common abbreviations, we obtain 28 to 32 letters to the line. On this basis and using the parallel versions of Varro and Galba we may restore as follows:

. . . . [Sa-]

1 xum Tarpeium appel[latur pars Capitolini mon-]
 2 tis, qui ob sepultam Ta[rpeiam ibi virginem, quae]
 3 eum montem Sabinis pro[dere pacta erat, ita]
 4 nominatus est. vel [ab eo, quod Sabino bello, cum]
 5 L. Tarpeius Romulo [arcis prodendae spe ob rap-]
 6 tas virgines adversa[retur, in ea parte, qua sa-]
 7 xum est, de noxio poena [sumpta est. Quapropter]
 8 noluerunt funestum locum [cum altera parte]
 9 Capitoli coniungi.

In the first line *pars montis* is assured by the context, and *Capitolini* by a comparison l. 9. For l. 2 we may compare Varro on Tarpeia, and for l. 3 the other statement about Tarpeia in Festus, p. 363. For l. 4 we can not be sure; I have given the preference to a designation of the time, which is implied in *-tas virgines* of l. 6. Some mention of the attempted betrayal in the second part is made necessary by *noxio*, l. 7, by *funestum* l. 8, and by *prodocias* in Galba's version. The only place to insert it is in l. 5, as I have done, but the wording of the allusion may have been otherwise. The filling out of lines 6 and 7 is practically determined by the context, and of l. 8 by a comparison with l. 1. It is interesting to note that in both versions of the myth Festus applies the name *Tarpeian* only to the cliff, which was distinguished from the rest of the Capitoline as a *locus funestus*.

The account of Tarpeia's treachery by Zonaras, 7, 3 is as follows¹: 'The Sabines took the Capitol, which was betrayed by Tarpeia, the daughter of the commander. For she was captured, when she had gone out after water, and was led to Tatius and induced to betray the stronghold, for she was desirous of the golden bracelets, which the Sabines wore on their left arms, and she asked for these as pay for her treachery. And when Tatius had agreed, she opened a gate at night and admitted the Sabines. Tatius after entering bade the soldiers under him give to her whatever they bore on their left arms, and he himself first threw his bracelet and shield at Tarpeia; and when all did likewise, struck by the gold and buried by the shields, she perished under the number and weight of them.'

Zonaras usually copied Dio Cassius and Plutarch² but has here drawn all from Plutarch except the statement that Tarpeia, when she had gone to get water, was captured and led to Tatius, who persuaded her to betray the citadel. This was probably taken from Dio and by him in turn from the Epitome Livii, as we see from a comparison of De vir. ill.³: *Sabini Tarpeiam virginem nacti, quas aquae causa sacrorum hauriendas descenderat*; and Servius ad Aen.¹: *Tarpeia aquatum profecta in hostes incidit*. The remark about bringing the water the Epitomator derived from Livy, but the capture is his own addition.

¹οἱ Σαβίνοι . . . τὸ Καπιτώλιον εἶλον προδομένον ὑπὸ Ταρπηίας τῆς θιγατρὸς τοῦ φρουράρχου. ἐκείνη γὰρ ἐφ' ἕδωρ κατελθοῦσα συνελθῆθη καὶ ἤχθη πρὸς Τάτιον, καὶ ἀνεπίσθη προδοῦναι τὸ ἔρυμα, τῶν χρυσῶν βραχιονιστήρων ἐρασθεῖσα, οὓς ἐν ταῖς ἀριστεραῖς ἐφόρουν χερσὶν οἱ Σαβίνοι, καὶ μισθὸν ὑπερ τῆς προδοσίας λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀπαιτήσασα. συνθεμένου δὲ τοῦ Τάτιου νύκτωρ μίαν πύλην ἀνοίξασα τοὺς Σαβίνοὺς ἐδέξατο. εἰσελθὼν δὲ ὁ Τάτιος ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὄσα ἐν ταῖς ἀριστεραῖς χερσὶν ἔφερον δίδόναι αὐτῇ, καὶ πρῶτος αὐτὸς τὸν βραχιονιστήρα τῇ Ταρπηίᾳ ἐπέριψε καὶ τὸν θυρεὸν. πάντων δὲ ὁμοίως ποιούντων βαλλομένη τε τῷ χρυσῷ καὶ καταχωσθεῖσα τοῖς θυρεοῖς ὑπὸ πλῆθους καὶ βάρους ἀπέθανεν.

²Cf. Schmidt, Quellen des Zonaras, Zeit. f. Alter. 1839 p. 238 ff. = Dindorf edit. of Zonaras, vol. 6, p. xxiv ff.

³Passages given in full on p. 12.

Quite different is the version, which we find in the Chronograph. anni 354 (Mon. Ger. Hist. auct. ant. vol. 9, p. 144):

Titus Tadius dux Sabinorum una cum Romulo regnavit annos quinque. Hic Tarpeiam virginem Vestalem vivam armis defodit, eo quod secreta Romuli ei propalare nolisset.

The expression *vivam armis defodit* reminds us of ζῶσαν ἀνίχυσαν in the Pseudo-Plutarch, though there the girl was buried under gold ornaments. The reason given for the murder is a defence of Tarpeia and may be an ignorant invention by the Chronograph himself. I know of no form of the myth with which it can be connected, except perhaps that in Antigonus (cf. Plut. Rom. 17). As we have seen above (p. 7) Antigonus related that Tarpeia, daughter of Tadius but forced to be the wife of Romulus, betrayed the citadel to the Sabines, and yet was killed by her father. No reason is given for the deed, but if one were to be added, what the Chronograph has given would do as well as any. So the version of the myth in the Chronograph seems to agree with Greek authorities, except for the words *virginem Vestalem*. These come from Varro or Propertius, though implied also in Livy and his imitators. The combination, by whomever made, does not reflect much credit on the author, as it is not clear why a Vestal should know the secrets of Romulus.

Among the later imitations of the Propertian form of the Tarpeia myth Rohde (Der griech. Roman, p. 82) mentions that of Cacan and Romilda in Paulus Diaconus, Hist. Lang. 4, 37 (= Gesta. Rom. 49):

Horum rex, id est Cakanus, dum circa muros armatus cum magno equitatu perambularet . . . hunc Romilda de muris prospiciens cum eum cerneret iuvenili aetate florentem, meretrix nefaria concupivit, eique mox per nuntium mandavit ut, si eam in matrimonium sumeret, ipsa eidem civitatem cum omnibus, qui aderant, traderet. Quod rex barbarus . . . promisit.

Then follow particulars of the surrender and the punish-

ment of Romilda, mostly drawn from later Greek romance writers.

Similar is the myth about Charlemagne and the daughter of the Lombard king Desiderius (Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen*, n. 448):

Desiderius floh mit Adelgis seinem Sohn und einer Tochter in die Mauern von Pavia, worin ihn Carl lange belagerte. Desiderius war gut und demüthig; stets soll er, der Sage nach, um Mitternacht aufgestanden, und in die Kirchen zum Gebet gegangen sein; die Thore der Kirchen öffneten sich ihm von selbst vor seinem blossen Anblick. Während jener Belagerung schrieb nun die Königstochter einen Brief an König Carl, und schoss ihn auf einer Armbrust über den Fluss Tessino; in dem Brief stand: "Wenn sie der König zum Ehegemahl nehmen wolle, werde sie ihm die Stadt und den Schatz ihres Vaters überliefern." Carl antwortete ihr so, dass die Liebe der Jungfrau nur noch stärker entzündet wurde. Sie stahl unter dem Haupt ihres schlafenden Vaters die Schlüssel der Stadt, und meldete dem Frankenkönig, dass er sich diese Nacht bereite in die Stadt zu rücken. Als sich das Heer den Thoren nahte, und einzog, sprang ihm die Jungfrau fröhlich entgegen, gerieth aber im Gedränge unter die Hufe der Rosse, und wurde, weil es finstre Nacht war, von diesen zertreten. Ueber dem Gewieher her Rosse erwachte Adelgis, zog sein Schwert, und tödtete viele Franken. Aber sein Vater verbot ihm, sich zu wehren, weil es Gottes Wille sei, die Stadt dem Feinde zu geben. Adelgis entfloh hierauf, und Carl nahm die Stadt und die königliche Burg in seinen Besitz.¹

Two Persian myths are also considered by Rohde to be related to that of Tarpeia but without sufficient reason. The one is about Schapour, and is found in the *Chronique de Tabari*, trans. par Zotenberg (Paris, 1869) vol. 2, pp. 80-84:

Dhaïzan, le roi de Hadhr, s'enferma dans la forteresse, et l'armée de Schapour vint se poster sous ses murs. Elle y resta quatre ans, sans pouvoir prendre la forteresse et sans

¹ Cf. further *Deutsche Kaiserchronik* v. 14845, in *Monumenta Hist. Ger., Scriptores qui vernacula lingua usi sunt*, vol. I.

s'en retourner. Après quatre ans, il arriva que la fille du roi Dhaizan, qui était avec lui dans la forteresse, et dont le nom était Nadhîra, et qui était la plus belle femme parmi les Arabes, vint sur le mur de la forteresse et vit Schâpour qui en faisait le tour à cheval. Schâpour était très-beau, et cette fille en devint amoureuse. Elle trouva un moyen de lui dépêcher quelqu'un et lui fit dire: "Cette forteresse a un charme, et quand même tu y resterais cent ans, tu ne pourrais t'en emparer. Si tu consens à me prendre pour femme, je t'informerais de quelle façon tu peux t'en rendre maître."¹ Il emmena Nadhîra, la fille du roi de Hadhr, et l'épousa. Une nuit, il était couché avec elle sur un lit composé de dix matelas faits de soie de Chine. . . . Cette femme avait des cheveux qui traînaient jusqu'à terre. Schâpour fit emmener un cheval jeune et ardent, et ordonna d'attacher cette femme par les cheveux aux pieds du cheval, et il le laissa prendre ainsi sa course. Le cheval traîna Nadhîra sur les pierres et la mit en pièces.

The first part of this story agrees with several Greek myths, as that of Peisidike (cf. Parthenius, 21) or the later form of the Tarpeia myth as found in Propertius, 4, 4. The rest of the story, especially the part relating to the enchanted walls of the city and the manner of Nadhîra's death, is adapted from the Scylla myth. This makes it practically certain that even the first part was borrowed from Greek tales rather than from the more distant Roman myth.

The second Persian myth is simpler in form and shows no influence of the myth of Scylla, but rather of that of Nanis. In the first part it is identical with the story of Schâpour and Nadhîra and undoubtedly has a kindred origin. It is found in *Das Heldenbuch v. Iran aus Firdnassis*, edit. v. J. Görres (Berlin, 1820) vol. 2, p. 417:

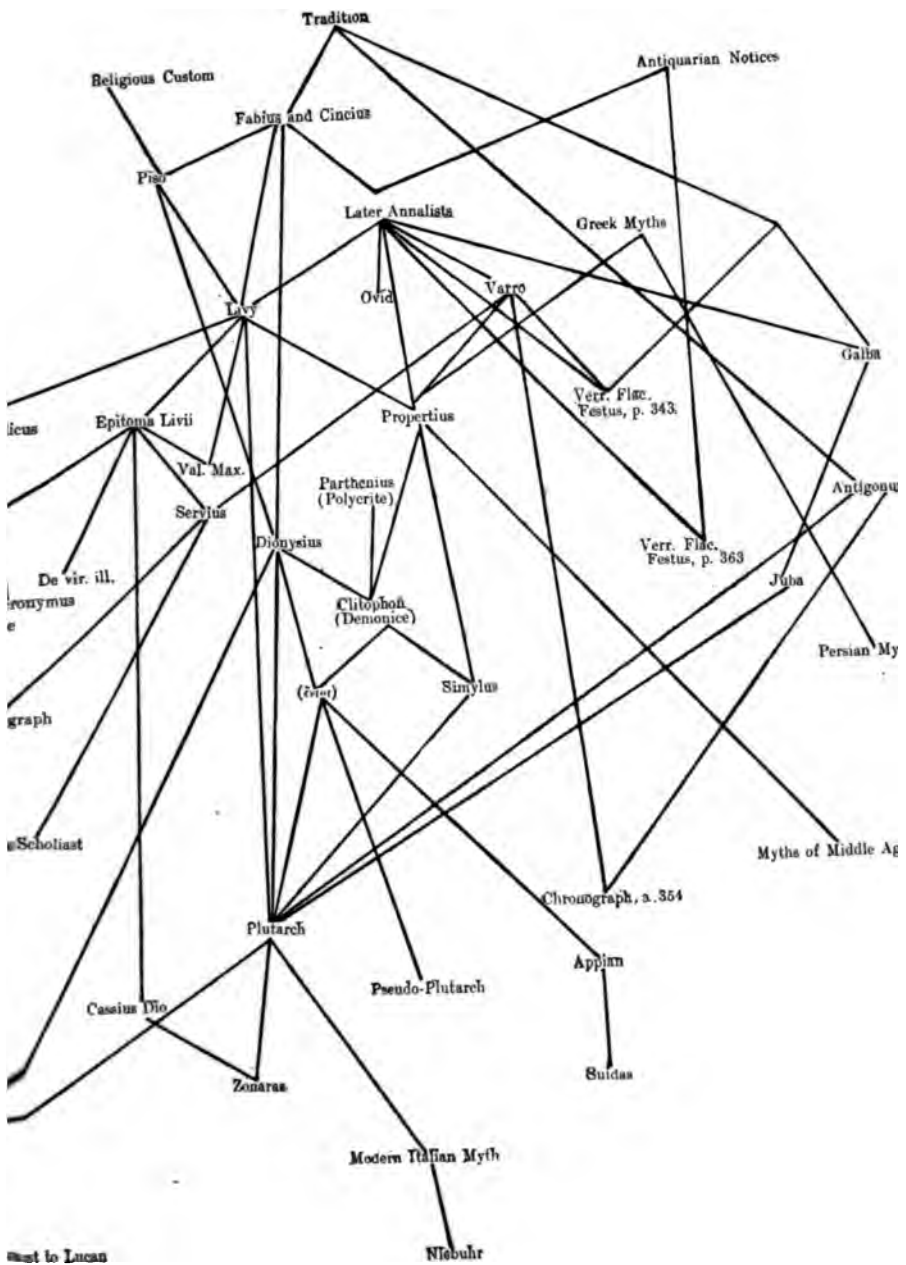
¹ We omit his acceptance of her proposal and the description of her magic destruction of the walls by letting a pigeon fly over the highest part of the citadel, as these offer no points of comparison; we omit also the capture and sack of the city, and the return of Schâpour to his kingdom.

Er (Schahpur) sammelte ohne Verzug ein Heer in Iran, schlug Taher und tödtete Viele der Seinen. Dann zog er vor ein Schloss in Yemen, wohin Taher sich geflüchtet hatte, und belegte es mit Heeresmacht. Aber das Schloss war fest, und er musste lange davor verweilen, und die Lebensmittel fiengen ihm an zu fehlen. Da erblickte ihn eines Tages Meliketh, Tahers Tochter, vor den Mauern, und gewann ihm lieb im Herzen. Und sie sandte ihre Amme heraus, dass sie dem Schach ihre Liebe bringe, und ihm kund thue, wie sie gleich ihm aus dem Stamm Nersi sey. Der Schach beschenkte die Botinn reichlich, und liess durch sie hinwieder ihrer Herrinn Liebesgruss entbieten. Da rustete die Tochter innen ein gross Gelag, liess den Vater und die Seinigen betrunken machen, und entwich dann hinaus ingeheim zu den Iraniern. Der Schach führte sogleich sein Heer gegen die Burg, und gewann sie nach kurzem Streit; Alles was Widerstand that, ward niedergemacht, und Taher selbst gefangen. Am morgen liess er den Gefangenen vorführen, und als er eingetreten, sah er die Tochter auf einem prächtigen Throne sitzen und verstand, was sich begeben hatte. Er wandte sich gegen den Schach und sprach: "Sieh! also hat sie an mir gethan, darum traue auch due ihr nicht, sie wird nicht besser mit dir verfahren." Schahpur aber liess ihm das Haupt abschlagen und fortan hielten die Araber sich ruhig.

Of modern origin, as Jordan (*Top. d. Stadt Rom*, vol. 2, p. 464) has noted, is the story about Tarpeia, which Italian girls living near the Capitoline related to Niebuhr¹ as he was searching old caverns under the hill. According to this story Tarpeia still sits, covered with gold and jewels, enchanted under the hill; only once did they know of her being seen, many having sought her in vain. The Roman versions of the myth never represent Tarpeia as buried under the gold ornaments, so the story was probably adapted from Plutarch in modern times by some Italian guide or for some guide book.

The following chart indicates the source relationships as determined in this paper:

¹ *Röm. Gesch.*, vol. 1^a, p. 235.



II. THE ORIGIN OF THE MYTH OF TARPEIA.

The object of the preceding investigation was to determine the original form or forms of the myth, which require explanation. Of these there are three, found respectively in Fabius, Antigonus and Festus. In Fabius the essential points are: Tarpeia, daughter of the Roman commander, Tarpeius, betrays the citadel to the Sabines for gold and is punished by being buried under their shields; according to Antigonus, Tarpeia, daughter of Tatius, betrays the citadel to the Sabines and is then buried under their shields. From Plutarch we can not be sure what reason Antigonus gave for the betrayal, though the fact that Tarpeia was the daughter of Tatius in his version would seem to be sufficient. Comparing Fabius and Antigonus we find that both represent somewhat developed versions of an earlier popular myth, in which Tarpeia, an unknown woman, betrayed the citadel to the Sabines for an unknown cause and was killed and buried by them at the place of betrayal.

With this earliest traceable form of the Tarpeia myth, we may compare the Tarpeius myth found in Festus, according to which Tarpeius attempts betrayal to the Sabines, but, detected by Romulus, is hurled from the Tarpeian rock. The points in common with the Tarpeia myth are, treachery, the Sabines and the Tarpeian rock. This persistent connection of the Sabines with the myth is only another indication that there were originally Sabine settlers on the Capitol,¹ or at least that the Romans from early times believed that there were. The capture of the citadel by the Sabine Appius Herdonius in 460 B. C. also had influence in shaping the earliest form of the myth.

¹ Cf. Niebuhr, *Röm. Gesch.* vol. 1, p. 255; Schwegler, *Röm. Gesch.* vol. 1, p. 480; Ihne, *Röm. Gesch.* vol. 1, p. 22; Preller, *Röm. Myth.* (Jordan) vol. 2, p. 351; Mommsen (*Röm. Gesch.* vol. 1, p. 35) claims that Varro started this story to explain the etymology of Quirinus, Quirites, etc.; but this etymology is certainly much older, as Livy drew it from the annalists, not from Varro.

Taking its rise from a perversion of these facts, the story of the betrayal attempted to explain the origin of the custom of punishing traitors by hurling them from the Tarpeian rock (cf. Preller, *Röm. Myth.* vol. 2, p. 351). This custom seems to have been very old, and was certainly well known, owing to the celebrated punishment of Sp. Cassius (Dionysius, 8, 78), of M. Manlius (Livy 6, 20) and of Sex. Lucilius (Vell. Paterc. 2, 24). The same penalty was sometimes inflicted for other crimes, (cf. Livy, *Per* 77; Tac. *Ann.* 2, 32; 6, 19), but they do not seem to have been associated with the Tarpeian rock so early as was the punishment of treason. This punishment and the name of the Tarpeian rock were to the Roman mind fittingly accounted for, if in the earliest times a man named Tarpeius had been executed there for treason. As this was the most natural explanation, why should the improbable and even contradictory Tarpeia myth arise and finally become the prevalent one? Undoubtedly because the porta Pandana and the grave of Tarpeia were situated near at hand and also required an explanation. The first localized the place of betrayal rather than that of the punishment, and the second both gave the female name and suggested the burial on the spot, where the act of treachery was committed. But the burial within the city walls also required an explanation, for it had been forbidden since the time of the XII tables; so the girl must have been buried by the enemy at the same time that they gave the punishment due to a traitor.

In the earliest form of the myth the cause of the treachery was still in doubt; Antigonus said the girl was the daughter of Tatius; therefore, revenge on Romulus might have been her reason. But the more natural explanation, that the girl was inflamed by the desire for golden ornaments and was bribed with these, became the prevalent one. A combination of this with the manner of her death, so as to make the act of retribution complete,

gave birth to the ambiguous designation *quod in sinistris manibus habent*, which described both the ornaments which she sought and the shields under which she was buried. So we have the popular myth complete as it appeared in Fabius. After that time it is a part of the literature and as such its further development has been traced in the preceding chapter.

This first literary form of the myth can be dated near 200 B. C., but the origin of the popular myth was much earlier. From its general form we infer that the true connection of the Tarpeii with the Capitol was already forgotten; the family even had died out; the laws of the XII tables had already been so long established that they were popularly looked upon as representing the earliest legislation, and all knowledge and tradition in regard to the origin of the city had been as much obliterated as they would have been in the case of a city captured and burned by the enemy. These requirements are met in the first or second generation after the burning of Rome by the Gauls (387 B. C.).

III. NAMES AND PLACES ASSOCIATED WITH TARPEIA.

We have still to discuss the Porta Pandana, the grave and statue of Tarpeia, the name of the Tarpeian rock and the historical family of the Tarpeii, through which the growth of the myth was directed.

1. THE PORTA PANDANA.

Our evidence for the existence of this gate is found in the following passages:

Varro, L. L. 5, 42:

Quod Saturnia porta quam Junius scribit ibi, quam nunc vocant Pandanam.

Solinus, 1, 13:

Portam appellaverunt Saturniam, quae postmodum Pandana vocitata est.

Paulus Diaconus, p. 220:

Pandana porta dicta est Romae, quod semper pateret (cf. Festus, p. 363 cited above).

Nonius (ed. Gerlach and Roth), p. 30:

Pandere Varro existimat ea causa dici, quod, qui ope indigerent et ad asylum Cereris confugissent, panis daretur. Pandere ergo quasi panem dare, et quod numquam fanum talibus clauderetur, de vita populi Romani lib. I: hanc deam melius putat esse Cererem; sed quod in asylum qui, confugisset, panis daretur, esse nomen fictum, a pane dando, pandere, quod est aperire.¹

Polyaenus 8, 25: 'After the Gauls had captured Rome the Romans made a treaty with them to pay tribute and at all times to keep one gate open and the land under cultivation. Hereupon the Gauls encamped and the Romans sent to them as friends many gifts and very much wine.' As the Gallic race is by nature exceedingly fond of wine, the barbarians drew very much and lay overcome by drunkenness; then the Romans came upon them and killed them all, but in order that they might seem to do everything in accordance with the treaty, they built an open gate on an inaccessible cliff.²

Little more than the existence of the gate can be proved

¹The identification of Panda with Ceres could not have been a general one, for Varro himself did not accept it in another passage quoted by Aulus Gellius, N. A. 13, 23, 4: M. Varro in Satura Menippea quae scribitur Σκιομαχία

Te Anna ac Peranna, Panda te, Lato, Pales,
Nerienes et Minerva, Fortuna ac Ceres.

²Ῥωμαῖοι Κελτῶν τὴν Ῥώμην λαβόντων συνθήκας πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐγράψαντο φόρους τελεῖν, πύλην ἀνευγμένην παρέχειν διὰ παντός καὶ γῆν ἐργάσιμον. Κελτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐστρατοπέδευον, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ὡς φίλοις ξένια πολλὰ ἐπεμψαν καὶ οἶνον πάμπολυν. οἱ βάρβαροι, φύσει δὲ τὸ Κελτικὸν ἰπέρουον, πολὺν ἀρυσάμενοι τὸν οἶνον ὑπὸ μέθης, ἔκειντο, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἐπελθόντες ἅπαντας κατέκοψαν. Ἰνα δὲ κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἅπαντα ποιῆσαι δοκοῖεν, ἐπὶ πέτρας ἀπροσβάτου πύλην ἀνευγμένην κατεσκεύασαν.

from these passages. That M. Junius Brutus (fl. 140 B. C.) should according to Varro have called it *porta Saturnia* is not strange, when we consider that, as early as Ennius, we not only have Mons Saturnius referring to the Capitoline hill and Saturnia applied to the city but also the divinities Saturnius (Jupiter) and Saturnia (Juno). All these names owed their origin to the myth, which represented Saturn as the introducer of agriculture and civilization into Italy; there is no more reason for accepting the name Saturnia for the gate than for the city.

In Polyænus we find mentioned the situation of the gate, above an inaccessible cliff (the Tarpeian rock), the origin being explained by a myth about the Gauls and Romans. This story was probably obtained by Polyænus from Appian,¹ but even if so, it is nevertheless late in origin, and no more deserving of consideration than the earlier myth which connected it with Tarpeia and the Sabines (cf. Festus, p. 363).

Arnobius (Adv. gent. 4, 3) connects the goddess Panda with the Sabines, but without mentioning the gate: *et quod T. Tatius, Capitolinum ut capiat collem, viam pandere atque aperire permissum est, dea Panda est appellata, vel Pantica*. That there was such a goddess we see also from the passages of Varro and Nonius Marcellus above quoted, and from Servius to Vergil's Georg. 1, 7 and Corpus Glossarium, vol. 2, p. 141. Preller (Röm. Myth. vol. 2^s, p. 224) considers her a goddess of the harvest, and this harmonizes well with the name Panda as referring to the one who opens up the ground in plowing, causes the seeds to expand and burst, and spreads out the leaves and blades of the plants. In the Corpus Glossarium she is called a goddess of peace, but that name could perhaps be inferred from the story in Arnobius. We have, however, no right to conclude that the gate was connected with the worship of Panda, even

¹Cf. Kelt. frag. 7, where the wine-drinking of the Gauls is similarly characterized.

though the word *Pandana* properly means 'belonging to Panda'; for gates were often named from shrines or altars near. Thus Paulus Diaconus, p. 327: *Salutaris porta appellata est ab aede Salutis, quae ei proxima fuit*; p. 122; *Minutia porta Romae est dicta ab ara Minuti, quem deum putabant*; also Festus, pp. 255 and 376; Varro, L. L. 5, 51. The meaning of the name Panda coupled with the fact that the gate was always open was enough to connect the two in the minds of the people, even if there was no religious connection.

The sacred character of the gate is, however, vouched for by Dionysius Hal. (Ant. Rom. 10, 14): 'A certain man of Sabine race, Appius Herdonius by name . . . collected a force of 4000 men . . . and sailed down the Tiber river. He came to Rome opposite the place where the Capitol is, not an eighth of a mile distant from the river. It was midnight and perfect quiet prevailed throughout the city; taking advantage of this, he disembarked his men in haste and led them through the open gates; for there are certain sacred gates of the Capitol, left open in accordance with a divine decree. They call these Carmentine.'¹

The gate is properly described as sacred, always open and upon the Capitol, but the strange name *Καρμεντίνας* or *Καρμεντίδας* is given to it. Dionysius seems to have confused it with the porta Carmentalis, which formed an exit to the vicus Jugarius at the foot of the Capitol. He did not know the porta Pandana and so considered the name merely

¹ *Ἀνήρ τις ἐκ τοῦ Σαβίνων ἔθνους, Ἀππίος Ἑρδόνιος ὄνομα . . . συγκροτήσας δύναμιν ἀνδρῶν τετρακισχιλίων . . . πλείσας δὲ διὰ τοῦ Τιβέρεως ποταμοῦ, προσέσχε τῆς Ῥώμης κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, ἐνθα τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἔστιν, οὐδ' ὄλον στάδιον ἀπέχον τοῦ ποταμοῦ. ἦσαν δὲ μέσαι τηλικαῦτα νύκτες, καὶ πολλῇ καθ' ὄλην τὴν πόλιν ἡσυχία· ἦν συνεργὸν λαβῶν, ἐξεβίβασε τοὺς ἀνδρας κατὰ σπουδῆν, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀκλείστων πυλῶν· εἰσι γάρ τινες ἱεραὶ πύλαι τοῦ Καπιτωλίου κατὰ τι θέσφατον ἀνειμέναι· Καρμεντίνας αὐτὰς καλοῦσιν. (cf. Livy 3, 15).*

a descriptive adjective¹ and added the name of the one gate, which he knew stood in that locality; this gate was probably also mentioned in his sources, as it was necessary for Herdonius to pass near it, in order to reach the foot of the Tarpeian rock.

This mistake of Dionysius is of value to us, for it shows that the statement that this was a sacred gate of the Capitol must be referred to his annalistic authority. When we consider further that the gate was placed at the top of an almost inaccessible cliff, we can not well doubt its sacred character and its origin from a religious custom. Yet so far as I can see there is no natural religious connection between the goddess of the harvest, Panda, or her shrine, and this open gate, but only the association already mentioned of name and contiguity. Until such a necessary religious connection is shown, I prefer to connect the open gate with the early Roman conception of the highest god, Jupiter; for just as his chief priest, the flamen Dialis, could have no bond, no knot on his clothing, nor even a closed ring on his finger (the band of the ring must be cut through in one place; cf. Gell. N. A. 10, 15, 6), so his temple should not be shut in and enclosed by a complete encircling wall. When the main gate of the Capitol was closed, there must still be some opening in the line of fortifications so that the worshippers might not seem to attempt any restraint on the omnipotent god. Such an open gate would naturally be placed at the top of an inaccessible cliff.

However the gate originated, it was later used as the passage way through which condemned criminals were led to the edge of the Tarpeian rock.² Yet this practice does

¹ If he was using the annalists Fabius and Cincius, who wrote in Greek, the blunder might be due to their having translated rather than transliterated the name.

² Richter, *Top. d. Stadt Rom*, 2. Aufl., p. 118 thinks the gate was built to afford a passage to the place of execution. Hülsen, *Form. urb. Rom. III* and Jordan *Top. d. Stadt Rom*, 1, 2, p. 127 ff. also place the gate above the Tarpeian rock; cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyc., Capitollum*.

not explain its origin as an open gate, not to mention the sacred character which the Romans attached to it.

2. THE GRAVE OF TARPEIA.

In the first chapter were cited the authorities for the existence of the grave of Tarpeia on the Capitoline hill, viz., Piso (Dionys. 2, 40); Varro, L. L. 5, 41; Festus, p. 363; Plutarch, Rom. 18; and Servius ad Aen. 8, 348. In addition Piso is authority for the statement that in his time (120 B. C.) yearly libations were made at the grave.¹ As the Tarpeia of the myth had no existence, we must search elsewhere for the person buried there. It seems probable that Tarpeia the Vestal, named by Plutarch (Numa 10) was the one. We have shown above that the existence of a Vestal Tarpeia is further supported by the confusion which resulted in the Tarpeia of the myth receiving this title. Also Propertius (1, 16, 2) writes *ianua Tarpeiae nota pudicitiae*, in which the allusion to a famous and honored Vestal is plain. Virgil (Aen. 11, 656) likewise uses Tarpeia as an honored name and may have obtained it from a list of Vestals as well as the name Amata, which he gave to Lavinia's mother.² Amata was to be sure only the form of address, under which the Pontifex Maximus received the maiden candidate into the order of Vestals, but it was accepted by the later Romans as the name of an early Vestal (Gellius, 1, 12, 14).

With these facts about the grave and offerings to Tarpeia, Mommsen (C. I. L. I, p. 386) and Marquardt (Hand. Röm. Alter. vol. 6, p. 311) combine the statements in the Fasti of Dionysius Philocalus, *mensis Februarius. idib. Virgo Vesta parentat*, and of Polemius Silvius, *parentatio tumulorum incipit*. From these, together with the statement of

¹ Krahner, p. 13, Jordan, Top. 1, 188 and others incorrectly assert that Piso represented Tarpeia as a goddess. Such an inference is unwarranted.

² Cf. Preller, Röm. Myth. vol. 2^a, p. 161.

Piso, found in Dionysius Halicarnas. 2, 40, they infer that the Vestals began the public offerings to the dead at the grave of Tarpeia. Her grave was naturally included in the number thus honored, as she was the earliest Vestal, whose name had been handed down (cf. above p. 9; also Mommsen, C. I. L. I, p. 386).

The service at the grave of Tarpeia probably gained a special significance from the fact that it was separate from the customary burial place of the Vestals (cf. Servius ad Aen. 11, 206) and because the beginning of this service was lost in antiquity. Since the Vestals assisted at other public rites under the direction of the pontifex maximus, as at the sacrifice of the Argei (Dionysius Hal. 1, 38, 3; Ovid, Fasti 5, 621), or that to Ops Consivia (Varro, L. L. 6, 21), or at the Fordicidia (Ovid, Fasti 4, 629 ff.), or at the Augustalia (Mon. Ancyr. 2, 30-31), or in the consecration of temples (Tacitus, Hist. 4, 53), it is likely that the pontifex was present as overseer at these public offerings to the Vestal dead; for he was not only the director of the whole life of the Vestals, but was even the high priest of Vesta (pontifex Vestae). If this be right, then it would be necessary for the pontifex and the chief Vestal or Vestals to go to the Capitoline hill on the ides of each February in order to begin these libations. Certainly this affords a good explanation of a much abused passage of Horace (Car. 3, 30, 9): *dum Capitolium scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex*.

The common explanation of this passage is that the pontifex maximus and the chief Vestal ascended the Capitol on the ides of March to offer sacrifice and pray for the prosperity of the state. So Preller (Röm. Myth. vol. 1, p. 363), Preuner (Hestia-Vesta, p. 310), most of the editors of Horace¹ and Holbrooke to Tacitus, Ann. 12, 43. Preller's

¹Orelli says this ascent of the Capitol occurred *diebus fastis*, while Schütz thinks the maidens were inaugurated as Vestals by the pontifex on the Capitol.

evidence is found in Lydus, *De mens.* 4, 36: εἰδοῖς Μαρτίαις ἰορτῇ Διὸς διὰ τὴν μεσομηνίαν καὶ εὐχαὶ δημόσιαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὑγιαίνοντος γένεσθαι τὸν ἑνιαυτόν. ἱεράτευον δὲ καὶ ταῦρον ἐξέτη ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἀγρῶν, ἡγουμένου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῶν κατηφόρων τῆς μητρόχου (μητρόχου Röther, μητρούχου Sophocles, Greek Lexicon of Roman and Byzantine Period). There is in this passage no reference to a Vestal, as Mommsen (*C. I. L.* I, p. 388) has correctly stated. The priestess referred to is the *mitrophorus canephorarum* (chief basket bearer) or better corrected to *cannophora* (thyrsus bearer) as the name appears in inscriptions. Also the statement *canna intrat* found in the *Fasti* of Dionysius Philocalus to the ides of March, both confirms this emendation and renders it certain that a priestess of Magna Mater took part in the ceremony on the ides of March. Against this united testimony the contention of Preuner (*Hestia-Vesta*, p. 311 n. 2), that Lydus ignorantly named a priestess of Magna Mater, where he meant the chief Vestal, must be abandoned as impossible.

Another explanation of this passage of Horace, first given by Klausen, *Aeneas* p. 930, is that the sacrifice of a sheep on the ides of every month was the ceremony referred to. The authorities cited are Macrobius (I, 15, 16) who has the sacrifice made by the *flamen*; Ovid, *Fasti* 1, 56 and 588 (sacrificer styled *sacerdos*); Festus, pp. 104 and 290 (*sacerdotes*) and Varro, *L. L.* 5, 47. Nowhere is there a direct statement that either the pontifex maximus or the chief Vestal took part in the monthly ceremony though there is always a possibility that the pontifex was present at any public sacrifice, if the contrary is not stated; yet this view is adopted by Marquardt, (*Handb. der Röm. Alter.* vol. 6, p. 255 n. 11) and combined with the previous one by many editors of Horace. Both these attempts to refer the passage of Horace to a definite festival must be considered as unsound, since there is absolutely nothing in either case to indicate the presence of one of the Vestals, though the pontifex maximus was certainly present on the

ides of March and possibly on the other ides. Yet his duties were so varied and numerous that we have no right to infer the presence of the Vestals in company with him at all nor even at any particular ceremony unless so stated.

On the other hand, in the explanation which I have offered, assuming that this ever recurring festival was the Parentalia on the ides of February, the presence of the chief Vestal on the Capitol is fairly certain and, as the pontifex maximus had absolute authority over the Vestals and was naturally in charge of the public rites, in which they had a share, we have a right to assume his presence on this occasion; this assumption is still further strengthened by the consideration, that as chief priest he must have had charge of the public offerings to the dead, and so could not well have been absent from the beginning of these offerings, which took place at the grave of Tarpeia on the Capitoline. But perhaps the strongest proof of all is the fact that Horace¹ is striving to express the conception of eternity by this reference to an ever recurring festival, and for this purpose the yearly offerings to the dead, of which no man knew the beginning or could imagine an end, were especially well adapted.

3. THE STATUE OF TARPEIA.

According to Festus (p. 363) a statue of Tarpeia stood in the temple of Jupiter built by Metellus. Soon after 146 B. C., Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus built temples to Jupiter and Juno in the Campus Martius near the Porta Carmentalis and surrounded them with a colonnade, also adorned with many statues² (cf. Vitruvius, 3, 2, 5; Velleius Paterculus, 1, 11, 3; Pliny, N. H. 34, 31; 36, 35; 36, 40;

¹ We might mention also the use of the adjective *tacita* by Horace, which would be particularly in point, if the Vestal were going to these rites for the dead; but it probably also describes the manner of the Vestals, whenever they appeared in public.

² Cf. Richter, *Top. d. Stadt Rom*, 2. Aufl., p. 217.

Cicero, Verr. 4, 126; Macrobius, 3, 4, 2). Some of these statues were from Greece; some were of distinguished people of his own time, as Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi; and others were probably obtained from overcrowded public buildings and temples, especially that of Jupiter on the Capitoline, from which we know that in 179 B. C. many statues were removed (Livy, 40, 51); also the Forum was cleared in the same manner in 158 B. C.

To this third class of statues belongs that of Tarpeia, whether it had previously stood in the neighborhood of a temple as the statue of Cloelia (cf. Pliny, N. H. 34, 29) and of Gaia Taracia, the Vestal (Pliny, N. H. 34, 25), or in an aedicula near her grave (for the custom cf. Orelli, Inscript. 4456), or in the Forum (cf. Pliny, N. H. 34, 24) perhaps near the temple of Vesta, or in the house of the Vestals, which after its rebuilding in the 3rd century A. D. contained a number of portrait statues of Vestals, yet none older than 240 A. D. (cf. C. I. L. VI, 2131-2145). In any case we must not suppose that the statue dated back to the time of the Vestal herself, for her fame as one of the earliest Vestals would account for the erection of a statue in her honor even at a much later date. For the probable form of the statue we may consult Pliny, N. H. 34, 24; *annales adnotavere tripedaneas iis statuas in foro statuas. haec videlicet mensura honorata tunc erat.* With this statue the representation, on some coins of the Titurian and Petronian families, of Tarpeia half covered with shields, has no connection; the object of the representation was to indicate the descent of these families from king Tatius of the Sabines, and for this purpose his famous deed in punishing a traitress was chosen. The coins belong to the beginning of the Empire.

4. THE ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF THE TARPEIAN ROCK.

The name Tarpeius was often applied to the whole hill and to Jupiter also, but the supposition, that this was the

original name, was a mistaken notion of the later Romans; yet not of all of them, for Verrius Flaccus (= Festus, p. 343) and Plutarch, Rom. 18 specially note that the name belonged only to the cliff. It is obvious that the name of the rock is connected with the gens Tarpeia, and yet the gens can not have borrowed its name from the rock, for gens names were never so derived (cf. Jordan, Top. vol. 1, p. 188). Therefore, we must believe that the rock obtained its name from the family. We might explain that the presence of the grave of Tarpeia near the spot gave the name to the cliff, but it would not help us much, for it would still be necessary to explain, why such an unusual burial place was chosen. On the other hand, both are properly accounted for, if we suppose that some branch of the family in the earliest times dwelt near the cliff.

As the Vestal Tarpeia was not buried with the other Vestals, it is likely that she was buried with the family to which she belonged by birth. It is even possible that the separate burial places for the Vestals were not established till about the time of the XII tables, by which burial within the city was forbidden. To this law the Vestals and certain distinguished men (cf. Servius ad Aen. 11, 206) seem to have formed the only exceptions. Before that time it was the custom to bury the dead within the house, that is, in the rear court or garden, as we learn from Servius ad Aen. 5, 64: ¹ *et sciendum quia apud maiores ubiubi quis fuisset extinctus, ad domum suam referebatur . . . quia etiam domi suae sepeliebantur; unde orta est consuetudo, ut dii penates colantur in domibus; 6, 152: apud maiores omnes in suis domibus sepeliebantur, unde ortum est, ut lares colerentur in domibus, unde etiam umbras larvas vocamus a*

¹Fowler, Class. Rev. vol. 11 (1897), p. 33, holds that burial in the courtyard occurred only in exceptional cases. Real proof is confined to special families. Perhaps the custom was never general.

laribus, nam dii penates alii sunt (cf. Isidor, Orig. 15, 11, 1).¹

The testimony of literary sources regarding family burial places is strengthened by the evidence of prehistoric archaeology. Lanciani (*Athenaeum*, 1902, p. 632) in describing an ancient grave found in the Forum, refers to the discovery of many others in 1882-5 on the Esquiline and elsewhere within the Servian walls. The graves were rather isolated, thus indicating separate burials or at least small burying grounds. Lanciani thinks they were tribal cemeteries, but it seems more natural to think of them as belonging to single families and connected with the houses which they inhabited. Pinza (*Le civiltà prim. del Lazio*, Bull. Com. vol. 26, (1898), pp. 77 and 116 ff.) finds other evidence in support of this supposition among the remains of earlier races. He notes also that these family burial places were often near the dwelling. We may thus consider that the grave of Tarpeia near the Tarpeian rock indicates the existence there of a family burial place and in consequence a residence of the family.

Additional evidence may be drawn from the name of the consul for the year 454 B. C.; in the *Fasti Capitolini* this is Spurius Tarpeius Montanus Capitolinus. The *Chronograph a. 354*, the *Fasti Hispani* and *Chronicon Paschale* give only Capitolinus, while Diodorus, Livy, Dionysius and Cassiodorus give only Sp. Tarpeius. The surname Capitolinus would indicate residence on the Capitol, but the Montani were perhaps residents of the Palatine (Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.* vol. 1⁸, p. 56).. These contradictory names can

¹ Marquardt (*Röm. Alt.* vol. 6, p. 308) doubts the statement of Servius, but without reason; cf. Mommsen and Huelson, *C. I. L.* I², p. 190, that the Valerii had a burial place in the city. Also the statement, if true, that children under 40 days old were buried in a subgrundarium on the court side of the house, points to the same original custom; cf. Fulgentius, p. 389 (G. and R.) thereto Voigt, in Müller, *Handb.* IV, 2, 320, and Pinza p. 117.

not have belonged to Sp. Tarpeius; the historians are consistent in giving only the two names and it is well known that the compilers of the *Fasti* presented the earlier consuls, who had only two names, with a third or even a fourth.¹ Undoubtedly in most cases they only added the most common cognomen of the family known to them. But why give two extra names to Tarpeius and others? The most natural explanation is that there were two branches of the family which bore these cognomina, and the editors of the *Fasti*, knowing both, could not decide which was entitled to the honor. This can not be considered strong evidence, but it is of value as showing that the Romans connected some branch at least of the historical gens Tarpeia with the Capitoline hill (cf. Jordan, *Topog. d. Stadt Rom*, vol. 1, p. 192). This together with the existence of the grave of Tarpeia there and the name of the Tarpeian rock should be enough to establish their residence near the place and so explain the name of the cliff.

5. DERIVATION OF THE NAME TARPEIA.

As we have already shown that the use of *Tarpeia*, *-ius*, as a family name was the original one, it is important to treat the derivation only far enough to show that a possible origin can be found compatible with this use. Jordan (*Top. d. Stadt Rom*, vol. 1, p. 188) has already called attention to the cognomen *Tarpa*, belonging to the gens *Maecia*, and probably of the tribe *Maecia*, formed in *Volscian* territory. Furthermore *Krahner* (*Tarpeia Sage* p. 36) mentions the town *Tarpe* of the *Vestini* (cf. *Stephanus Byzant.* p. 604). From the appearance of these related words in districts removed from Rome, we are perhaps justified in inferring that *Tarpa* and *Tarpeia* were dialectic rather than pure Latin names.²

¹ Cf. Jordan, *Top.* vol. 1, p. 193, n. 68; Mommsen, *Röm. Forsch.* vol. 1, p. 68; C. I. L. I², p. 97 ff.

² Conway (*Ital. Dial.*, vol. 1, p. 48) holds that *Tarpeius* was pure Latin.

The Indo-European root of these words is \sqrt{trp} ; cf. Greek $\tauέρπω$ (Hom. $\tauαρπήμεναι$), 'satisfy,' 'cheer;' Sanskrit $trpyati$, $tatarpa$, 'satisfy,' 'nourish;' Lithuanian $tarpá$, 'increase;' Gothic $tharf$, 'satisfy,' etc. According to Brugmann (Ver. Gram.², pp. 465 and 453) the root trp should appear in Latin as $torp$ (cf. $torpeo$) or $turp$ (cf. $Turpenus$ C. I. L. I, 1541). But trp was capable of ablaut variation to $tarp$ already in Indo-European, and this form of the root would remain unchanged in Italic (Brugmann, pp. 93 and 158-163).

The whole question of these r roots is still more or less doubtful, owing to the uncertainty as to the original quantity of some of them. Whitney (Sansk. Gram. § 242) recognizes about a dozen roots in r which also appear in forms indicating an \bar{r} in the stem as parallel form to r . This confusion seems also to have existed in roots where the r was not final; Brugmann, p. 479 n.: "Av. $\bar{e}r\bar{e}zat\bar{e}m = Silber$, gr. $\bar{\alpha}ργυρος \bar{\alpha}ργής$, ai. $rajatám$ weisen auf uridg. $r\bar{g}$, welches auch in arm. $arcat$ enthalten sein kann. Das Ital. und das Kelt. haben arg . lat. $argentum$, osk. $aragetud$ 'argento,' air. $argat$, etc. Man setzt für diese Wörter uridg. $r\bar{g}$ voraus (hierauf könnte auch $arcat$ bezogen werden). Doch kann das italokelt. Wort leicht frühzeitig aus einem idg. Dialect entlehnt sein in dem arg . aus $r\bar{g}$ hervorgegangen war."

In the derivation of Tarpeia we have the same difficulty; either the form \sqrt{tarp} or the lengthened root $t\bar{r}p$ would amply account for the Latin word.

On the basis of such a connection with the root trp the Roman name *Tarpa* would mean 'the nourisher,' 'the satisfier' or 'the cheerer,' an appellation that would admit of application either to a man or to a god. From this in turn *Tarpeius* was regularly derived as *Aquileius* from *aquila* with the meaning 'belonging to Tarpa,' either as son or as servant.

THE MOVEMENTS OF THE CHORUS CHANTING THE CARMEN SAECULARE OF HORACE.

Previous to the discovery of the inscription commemorating the Saecular Games held by Augustus in 17 B. C., little attention had been paid to the movements of the chorus that chanted Horace's *Carmen Saeculare*. Steiner,¹ following Zosimus (Hist. 2, 5), represented the chorus as singing in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine hill; citing the reference to this hill (*Palatinas . . . arces*, l. 65) he remarks that in the entire hymn no mention is made of the temple upon the Capitoline. Schmelzkopf,² influenced perhaps by a note of Porphyrio (see p. 53), believed that the *Carmen* was sung also in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, but evidently did not think of the chorus as chanting while they moved from one temple to the other. Kühn,³ Ribbeck,⁴ and Preller,⁵ were of the opinion that the hymn was sung in the temple of Apollo Palatinus; but Preller went a step further and expressed his belief that on a certain coin of Domitian (described p. 55), struck in commemoration of the *Ludi Saeculares*, celebrated in his reign, the chorus is represented as singing the *Carmen* in the temple of Apollo, and not, as thought by some, in a procession. With this view Marquardt⁶ agreed, basing his conclusion upon the statement of Zosimus and the coin; so also Kiessling and other editors of Horace. Down to 1891 scholars generally accepted without question the rendering of the hymn by a

¹ De Horatii Carmine Saeculari (Krenznach, 1841), p. 3.

² De Horatiano Carm. Saec. disputatiuncula (Leipzig, 1838).

³ De Q. Horatii Carm. Saec. (Breslau, 1877), p. 6.

⁴ Gesch. der röm. Dichtung, vol. 2, p. 140.

⁵ Röm. Myth. vol. 2³, p. 90; cf. also vol. 1, p. 310.

⁶ Röm. Staatsverw., vol. 3², p. 393.

chorus in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, on the third day of the festival.

In 1891, Theodore Mommsen took up the question in his commentary on the recently discovered Saecular inscription, and advanced the theory that the Carmen Saeculare was a processional, sung by a chorus moving from the temple of Apollo on the Palatine hill to the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus upon the Capitoline, and thence returning. This contention started an active discussion, in which many have taken part. It would be foreign to our purpose to make an analysis of the various contributions to the literature of the subject, which have appeared in the last dozen years; they are for the most part easily accessible. It may suffice to mention among the more important papers and references, those of Wissowa,¹ Gardthausen,² Dressel,³ Thiele,⁴ Lanciani,⁵ and Waltz,⁶ who in the main accept Mommsen's view; and of Vahlen,⁷ Wartenberg,⁸ Christ,⁹ Friedrich,¹⁰ Schanz,¹¹ Gruppe,¹² Schöll,¹³ Vollbrecht,¹⁴ Hirsch-

¹ Die Saecularfeier des Augustus, Marburg, 1894.

² Augustus und seine Zeit, vol. 1, pp. 1015-1017; vol. 2, p. 630.

³ Eph. Epig., vol. 8, pp. 313-314, no. 10.

⁴ Horaz und sein Säkulargedicht, Erfurt, 1900.

⁵ Pagan and Christian Rome, p. 81, and Atlantic Monthly, Feb., 1892, p. 152.

⁶ Rev. de Phil., 1894, pp. 113 fol.

⁷ Über das Säkulargedicht des Horatius, Sitz. d. Berl. Acad., 1892, pp. 1005-1022.

⁸ Jahresb. d. phil. Vereins zu Berlin, vol. 18 (1892), pp. 192-198.

⁹ Das Carmen Saeculare und die neuangefundenen Säcularacten, Sitz. d. kgl. bayr. Acad., 1893, pp. 136 fol.

¹⁰ Q. Horatius Flaccus, Phil. Untersuchungen (Leipzig, 1894), pp. 92 fol.

¹¹ Gesch. der röm. Litteratur, vol. 2³, 1, pp. 115-117.

¹² Bursian's Jahresb. f. Altertumsw., 1894, III, pp. 112-115.

¹³ Die Säcularfeier des Augustus und das Festgedicht des Horaz, Deutsche Rundschau, vol. 90 (1897), pp. 54-71.

¹⁴ Das Säcularfest des Augustus (Gütersloh, 1900), pp. 33-35.

felder,¹ Lafaye,² and Slaughter,³ who reject the processional theory. Boissier⁴ does not express himself definitely. I have not seen the articles of Mosca,⁵ or Basiner.⁶ Notwithstanding the amount that has been written on the subject, the differences of opinion are still so marked that it seems worth while again to review the evidence in order, if possible, to reach the solution of a problem which, though in itself of no great moment, possesses a considerable degree of interest on account of its literary associations.

We begin with the statement of Mommsen which is of sufficient importance to warrant quoting in full:⁷ "*Hoc novum addiscimus carmen quod composuit Q. Horatius Flaccus non solum in Palatio cantatum esse sed item in Capitolio. Id quominus accipiamus de eodem carmine non brevi bis repetito argumentum obstat: nam ineptum foret Iovem Iunonemque ita celebrari ut neque in principio carminis neque in fine ipsi comparerent. At cum ab Apollinis Dianaeque laudibus carmen et incipiat et in eas desinat, media habet quae non conveniunt nisi diis Capitolinis. Eos, enim, quos *bobus veneratur albis* Augustus esse Capitolinos etsi poeta non dixit, ideo quod eorum propriae sunt victimae illae ab iis nominandis abstinuit, sublataque est de ea re dubitatio omnis actis patefactis. Itaque et auctorum de loco testatio et ipsa poetae sollertia aut admittunt aut adeo requirunt ut carmen statuamus cantatum esse a choris sollemni pompa ex Palatio ad Capitolium pergentibus et*

¹ Woch. f. klass. Phil., 1901, pp. 319, 430.

² Sur le Carmen Saeculare d'Horace, Rev. de Phil., vol. 18 (1894), pp. 126 fol.

³ The Acta Ludorum and the Carmen Saeculare of Horace, Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc., 1895, pp. 69 fol.

⁴ Les Jeux Séculaires d'Auguste, Rev. des Deux Mondes, vol. 110 (1892), pp. 75 fol.

⁵ Carmen Saeculare, Esposizione e Commento, Chieti, 1895.

⁶ Ludi Saeculares, Warschau, 1901.

⁷ Ephemeris Epigraphica, vol. 8, pp. 256-257 = Mon. Ant. della Reale Acad. de' Lincei, vol. 1 (1891), p. 649.

inde redeuntibus ad aedem Apollinis Palatinam. Carmen qui legit, deos, qui pro Romula gente invocantur in medio eo, quominus habeat pro Apolline et Diana qui proxime praecedunt obstatat certe apud lectorem peritum proprietates victimarum; praeterea, qui audiverunt cantatum, quinam essent illi nullo modo dubitare poterant, modo statuas hos versus cantatos esse in conspectu aedis Iovis et Iunonis in Capitolio."

In an article entitled, *Die Acten zu dem Säculargedicht des Horaz*, which appeared in *Die Nation* of Dec. 12, 1891, Mommsen again states his view regarding the movement of the chorus. He says: "Es passt weiter wohl dazu (i. e. that stanzas 10-13 are directed to Jupiter and Juno) dass, wie die Akten bezeugen, das 'Lied'—nicht die Lieder—gesungen wird nicht bloss auf dem Palatin am Apollotempel, sondern auch auf dem Capitol an dem Heiligthum des Jupiter und der Juno. Ohne Frage ist das Gedicht ein Processionslied gewesen. Beginnend am Apollotempel, wo für diesen Tag der Mittelpunkt der Feier war, wird der Festzug über das Forum auf der Via Sacra zum Capitol hinaufgestiegen sein und dann von da sich zurück zum Palatin gewendet haben; und insofern ist es in der Ordnung, dass die ersten wie die letzten Strophen an Apollo und Diana, die mittleren an Jupiter und Juno gerichtet sind."

If we examine the facts brought forward by Mommsen to justify his conclusion, we find that he had before him no fresh evidence except that derived from the Saecular inscription. What bearing this has upon the question we shall see later; let us first examine the evidence, meager enough at best, which has come down to us from other sources.

These sources consist of two scholia to Horace, a passage in the History of Zosimus, certain Sibylline verses quoted both by Zosimus and by Phlegon Trallianus, and a coin of Domitian.

Of the two scholia one, falsely attributed to Acro,¹ is found in a manuscript of Horace of the eleventh century, at Paris (Bib. nat., no. 7975γ). It forms a part of the heading of the Carmen Saeculare, and reads thus: *Incipit Carmen Saeculare, quod patrimi et matrimi cantarunt in choro puellarum et puerorum ad Apollinem et Dianam.* The other scholium is by Porphyrio,² and appears in the preface to his notes on the poem; it reads: *Hoc Carmen Saeculare inscribitur. Cum enim Saeculares ludos Augustus celebraret, secundum ritum priscae religionis a virginibus puerisque praetextatis in Capitolio cantatum est.*

The testimony of the second scholium, that the Carmen was sung upon the Capitoline hill, may possibly be a reminiscence of the Saecular inscription; the language of the first is easily reconcilable with the supposition that the hymn was chanted in the temple of Apollo Palatinus, in which Diaua and Latona were also honored; but in neither is there any hint that the poem was rendered by the chorus when passing from one temple to the other.

The passage in Zosimus (Hist. 2, 5) forms a part of a somewhat detailed description of the celebration of the Saecular games by Augustus. 'On the third day' says this writer, 'in the temple of Apollo upon the Palatine, twenty-seven boys and as many girls, of prominent families, whose fathers and mothers were still living, chanted in both the Greek and the Latin language songs and hymns of praise for the preservation of the cities under Roman sway.'

Here we find it unequivocally stated that the hymn was sung in the temple upon the Palatine. Nothing is said of a repetition upon the Capitoline, nor is there any intimation

¹ Ed. Hauthal, vol. 1, p. 433, ll. 13-15.

² Ed. Holder, p. 180, ll. 1-6.

³ Ἡμέρα δὲ τρίτη ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸ παλάτιον Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερῷ τρις ἑννέα παῖδες ἐπιφανεῖς μετὰ παρθένων τοσοῦτων, οἱ πάντες ἀμφιθαλεῖς, ὅπερ ἐστίν, ἀμφοτέροισι τοῖς γονεῖσι ἔχοντες περιόντας, ὕμνους ἄδοσι τῇ τε Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ῥωμαίων φωνῇ καὶ παιάνας δὲ ὧν αἱ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους σώζονται πόλεις.

of a procession. The character of Zosimus's description, and its substantial accuracy in other important particulars, indicate that he was taking his information from a trustworthy source; hence it is all the more remarkable, if the *Carmen Saeculare* was a processional, that he did not find mention of the fact, or, finding it, failed to make reference to it.

The Sibylline verses¹ are of doubtful value, yet they must not be left out of consideration. Thirty-seven verses are quoted by Zosimus; of these ll. 16-22 only are of present interest. They read: 'And Phoebus Apollo, Leto's son, who is also called the god of the sun, should receive like offerings; and let the men of Latin race frequent the sanctuary of the deathless gods, singing hymns of praise out of the mouths of youths and maidens. These should chant their songs responsively, but all must be children of living parents, whose line still flourishes.'²

While the reference to the 'deathless gods' in this passage may be general, the close connection with the preceding makes it seem clear that the poet had in mind Apollo and Diana, and the temple on the Palatine; but in any case, so far as the passage may be taken as referring to the movement of a chorus, ἔχοιεν is inconsistent with the idea of a procession.

¹ Quoted both by Zosimus (*l. l.*), and by Phlegon Trallianus (freedman of Hadrian) *περὶ Μακροβίων*, 4. The works of the latter writer are found in the *Scriptores Paradoxorum et Rerum Naturalium*, ed. Otto Keller, vol. 1, pp. 57 fol. See also Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter* (Berlin, 1890) *passim* and especially pp. 133-135; and Stengel, *zum Säkularorakel*, *Hermes*, vol. 27 (1892), pp. 446-451.

² Καὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων

ὄστε καὶ ἥλιος κικλήσκειται, ἴσα δεδέχθω
 θέματα Λητοίδης, καὶ ἀειδόμενοί τε Λατίνοι
 παιᾶνες κόρυσις κοῦρησί τε νηὸν ἔχοιεν
 ἀθανάτων. χωρὶς δὲ κόραι χορὸν αἶτα ἔχοιεν
 καὶ χωρὶς παίδων ἄρσην στάχος, ἀλλὰ γονύμων
 πάντες ζώντων, τοῖς ἀμφιθαλεῖς ἐτι φέτλη.

Four coins were struck in commemoration of the celebration of the Saecular Games in 17 B. C.; not less than fifteen are known that commemorate the celebration of the *Ludi Saeculares* by Domitian, in 87 A. D. Among the latter is one of interest in relation to our subject (Cohen, *Mon. frap. sous l'empire rom., Domitian*, no. 79; discussed by Dressel, *Eph. Epig.*, vol. 8, p. 313, no. 10, figured Tab. I, 10). On the reverse are seen two boys clad in the toga and a girl, all carrying small branches in their uplifted right hands, and advancing toward the right. The association with Domitian's celebration is obvious from the legend: COS XIII LVD. SAEC. FEC S. C

Notwithstanding the assertion of Preller, already referred to (p. 49), it appears probable that the group on the coin is intended to represent a moving procession. We can hardly suppose that Horace's *Carmen Saeculare* was repeated in the celebration under Domitian; and we do not know for certain that a similar hymn was specially composed for this occasion. But if we assume that the singing of a hymn like that of Horace formed a part of the religious exercises of the third day in Domitian's *Ludi Saeculares*, does it follow that precisely this feature of the festival is commemorated on the coin? And if this be considered a reasonable supposition, are we warranted in using so insecure evidence in determining a point relating to the celebration by Augustus more than one hundred years before?

The procession was a common and characteristic feature of ancient religious celebrations, both Greek and Roman,—a fact so familiar that no citing of specific instances is necessary.¹ We may freely grant that in the celebration of the *Ludi Saeculares* no visual effect was more striking than the appearance of the chorus of youths and maidens; none would have been more apt to impress a designer who desired

¹ Cf. p. 60.

to commemorate the occasion in plastic art. Yet on the supposition that the chorus in Domitian's celebration, as in that of Augustus, sung first in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine and then in that of Jupiter on the Capitoline, we may inquire which the designer of the coin would have found better adapted for conventional representation in so diminutive a relief, the group of youths and maidens as they were actually singing in either temple, or the aspect of them moving in procession as they passed from one temple to the other? To my mind the answer is obvious; the simplicity and movement of the latter gave it so great an advantage that the designer without hesitation would have chosen to emphasize the chorus rather than the song. On the supposition that Domitian's coin commemorates the chorus which chanted a Saecular hymn, there is no reason to suppose that the artist intended to represent it as singing either in the temple or in the open air; the song was plainly enough suggested by the representation of the singers. Without confirmatory evidence we should not be justified in basing upon this coin any conclusion in regard to the use of Horace's or any other *Carmen Saeculare* as a processional; and it is worthy of note in this connection that, as we learn from the Saecular inscription (l. 21, *choros habendos*), the chorus in the *Ludi Saeculares* of Augustus was called upon to render other hymns as well.

The early part of this inscription, containing the directions in regard to the composition and duties of the chorus, is unfortunately mutilated; but the lines that are concerned with the singing of the Saecular hymn are in a more satisfactory condition. In lines 139-146 is a description of the sacrifice offered to Apollo and Diana on the third day of the celebration, upon the Palatine hill; then we read (lines 147-149): *Sacrificioque perfecto pueri [X]XVII quibus denuntiatum erat patrimi et matrimi et puellae totidem | carmen cecinerunt, eo[de]mque modo in Capitolio. | Carmen composuit Q. Hor[at]ius Flaccus.*

The meaning is plain. Immediately after the sacrifice to Apollo and Diana upon the Palatine hill the chorus sang—naturally in the same place—the hymn which Horace had composed for the occasion; after that they sang the hymn ‘in like manner,’ that is, a second time, upon the Capitoline. A repetition is clearly implied; but while the words *eodemque modo in Capitolio* show that the chorus must have passed from the Palatine to the Capitoline hill, there is in them no suggestion of movement, such as we should have expected to find if the chorus chanted the formal hymn on the way; for we are dealing here with an official document, the purpose of which was to transmit to posterity a minute description of the ceremonies which no one living would ever witness again—a document which was drawn up so soon after the event, that mention of so important a feature as the use of Horace’s poem as a processional, in case it had been so used, would not have been omitted.

It is not important for our purpose to inquire whether the Carmen Saeculare was sung in the temples of Apollo and of Jupiter, or before the temples. The indefiniteness of the references to place (*in Palatio*, l. 139; *in Capitolio*, l. 148), the immediate connection between the sacrifice, offered naturally on the altar in the court of the temple of Apollo, and the singing of the hymn, and finally the necessity of providing room for the audience that must have been permitted to be present on the occasion, suggest the conclusion that the hymn in each instance was rendered in the temple court. Some weight should be attributed also to a consideration advanced by Friedrich (Q. Horatius Flaccus, Phil. Untersuchungen, pp. 98 fol.) which is based upon the similarity between the program of the third day and that of the second. On the second day a sacrifice was offered to Juno Regina upon the Capitoline, followed by a prayer to the goddess said by 110 matrons. The prayer was evidently offered at the place of sacrifice, in the open; and in like manner the hymn following the sacrifice to Apollo on the

third day was probably rendered before the temple. But the chanting of the hymn near the altar before the temple is as inconsistent with the use of it as a processional as the rendering of it in the edifice itself would be.

We can not leave the inscription without raising the question whether the phrase *eodemque modo* can possibly be invested with the meaning required by Mommsen's theory. The expression is obviously elliptical, but it is easy to supply the missing parts; the clause in full would read, *eodemque modo carmen in Capitolio cecinerunt*. The point at issue really is, whether a Roman would have used *eodem modo* with reference to the chanting, upon the Capitoline hill, of a small portion of a hymn, the greater part of which had been already chanted on the way between the Palatine and the Capitoline.

An examination of a considerable number of passages, in which *eodem modo* occurs, will make it apparent to any one that this phrase is used ordinarily to introduce a situation or condition that is almost identical with a preceding situation or condition, and which in fact differs from the preceding only in relatively unimportant particulars. A few instances in point are:

Cic. De Off. 2, 35, Quam ob rem, ut volgus, ita nos hoc loco loquimur, ut alios fortes, alios viros bonos, alios prudentes esse dicamus; popularibus enim verbis est agendum et usitatis, cum loquimur de opinione populari, idque eodem modo fecit Panaetius.

Here Cicero says that he feels obliged to use expressions with which people in general are familiar, and that Panaetius did likewise, that is, Panaetius treated subjects in a way that the common people could understand.

Cic. De Fin., 4, 50, eodem enim modo tibi nemo dabit, quod expetendum sit, id esse laudabile.

Cicero now applies a principle, formerly stated, to a new illustration, and draws a similar conclusion; *eodem modo* is equivalent to 'just as before.' Similar is Cato Maior, 8,

Quod eodem modo de senectute dici potest, where Cicero applies to old age a general principle drawn from a concrete illustration, that just as personal ability and favorable surroundings are necessary to a man's success, so happiness in old age depends upon the possession of both wisdom and moderate means. In these passages the sense of *eodem modo* is 'likewise,' 'in like manner,' 'also,' and approaches closely to 'again.'

Other illustrations of the use of this phrase might be cited; but it is needless to multiply instances. The same phrase occurs twice elsewhere in our inscription, each time with the meaning, 'likewise,' 'also.' One instance is in l. 83, *a. d. III k. Iun. eodem modo fruges acceperunt*; the other in l. 109, *Deinde ludi Latini in theatro ligneo quod erat constitutum in campo secundum Tiberim sunt commissi, eodemque modo sellisternia matres familiae habuerunt*. This last passage should be compared with l. 101, which describes the first celebration of the *sellisternia*. These two instances, together with that under consideration, in no respect differ from current usage. We are safe in concluding that had the author of the inscription had in mind the use of the Carmen Saeculare as a processional, of which only a small part was chanted upon the Capitoline, he must have used an altogether different form of expression; for *eodemque modo in Capitolio* distinctly implies the repetition of the entire hymn. The brevity of the expression is easily explained by the unwillingness to draw attention from the main features of the celebration on the third day, which was devoted to the worship of Apollo and Diana.

Our analysis of the evidence thus far has seemed to show, first, that the Carmen Saeculare was sung by the chorus upon the Palatine hill, and then repeated upon the Capitoline; and secondly, that the supposition of its use as a processional is without valid support. It remains for us to see whether any new light can be thrown upon the subject from the study of other instances of choral hymns at Rome,

and whether the content of Horace's hymn offers any hint in regard to its musical rendition.

It was a common practice in connection with certain religious celebrations, for choruses of boys and girls to sing hymns while advancing in procession through the city; or from one temple to another. These ceremonies were ordinarily instituted on the occurrence of prodigies which were interpreted as indicating the displeasure of a divinity.¹ Thus from Livy, 27, 37 we learn that in the year 207 B. C. during the struggle with Hannibal, fearful signs and portents appeared throughout Italy. At a mandate issued by the pontifices, twenty-seven maidens advanced in procession through the city singing a hymn (*per urbem euntes carmen canerent*). We are fortunate in having preserved to us the name of the composer, the poet Livius. Later in the same chapter Livy relates how the temple of Juno Regina upon the Aventine was struck by lightning. Among measures taken to appease the supposed anger of the goddess, twenty-seven maidens, clad in long robes, sang a hymn, moving in procession to the temple of Juno by a route which the historian fully describes.

Again in 200 B. C., as we learn from Livy 31, 12, strange phenomena and prodigies occurred, and again, in consequence of a decree issued by the decemviri, a hymn was sung in procession (*per urbem*) by twenty-seven maidens. The hymn for this occasion was composed by P. Licinius Tegula.

Although these instances² seem parallel, they are essentially different from the ceremonies connected with the Sæcular Games. In the former the hymn was sung to propitiate or appease certain divinities whom the Romans

¹See Livy, 36, 37; 40, 19, etc., and the *Liber Prodigiorum* of Jul. Obsequens; cf. the following footnote, and F. Luterbacher, *Der Prodigien Glaube und der Prodigienstil der Römer*, Burgdorf, 1880.

²A full list of such references will be found in Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.*, vol. 3², pp. 259 fol.

on the appearance of terrible signs believed to be offended. The signs varied, the divinities appealed to were not always the same, the singing was attended with various ceremonies, but the theme of all was the same; they were propitiatory verses, rather than songs of praise and prayer; but to the latter category assuredly belongs the poem of Horace, which was addressed to favoring and protecting deities. The *Ludi Saeculares* may have had their origin in propitiatory ceremonies, but the original purpose of the celebration was doubtless lost sight of in the time of Augustus.¹ Again, we have no knowledge of the contents of the poems which Livius or Tullius composed. We therefore can not tell whether they were appropriate for a procession, unhampered in its movements, or for one passing over a prescribed route. It is probable that these propitiatory hymns were sung by a chorus that was unrestricted in time and position. Finally, Livy takes the pains to point out in every instance the fact that the chorus moved in procession through the city,—in marked contrast with the testimony of our inscription.

Even in the case of propitiatory *carmina*, however, instances are not wanting of the chorus singing at the temple only. This seems clear from a passage in Macrobius. On the occurrence of prodigies, the Sibylline books were consulted, and the duumvirs reported (Sat. 1, 6, 13): *in Capitolio supplicandum . . . Acta igitur obsecratio est pueris ingenuis itemque libertinis sed et virginibus patrimis matrimisque pronuntiantibus carmen*. Also in Livy 37, 3 and Julius Obsequens, 40; 48,² where the situation in each case is similar, although no mention is made of singing, it is highly probable that this was the part which the boys and girls took in the *supplicatio*.

We come now to an examination of the *Carmen Saeculare*

¹ Cf. Pinza, *Sopra l'origine dei ludi Tarentini o Saeculares*, Bull. com., vol. 24 (1896), pp. 191-230.

² Cf. also Jul. Obs. (ed. Jahn) 36; 43; 46; 53, when specific mention is made of choruses singing in procession.

itself. Many theories have been set forth concerning the division of the hymn in the assignment of the stanzas to the youths and maidens. The question need not be discussed at length in this place, since it does not intimately concern our subject. The arrangement first suggested by Steiner¹ is usually followed. The first and second stanzas are addressed to Apollo and Diana. The third stanza also is really an invocation to Apollo, ὅστε καὶ ἥλιος κικλήσκειται. Stanzas 4-6 are directed to Ilithyia. This goddess of child-birth was sometimes represented in Greek and Roman mythology as the daughter of Juno, at other times identified with Juno or with Diana.² We may regard Ilithyia in the passage before us as a conception closely related to that of the virgin goddess. A separate divinity is indicated, however, in the Sibylline verses (l. 9), where the plural form of the name is used, and in the inscription (ll. 115-118) a separate sacrifice is made to the Ilithyiae. In the seventh stanza the Parcae are invoked, and in the eighth, Ceres; in the first half of the ninth, Apollo, and in the second half, Luna or Diana. The assignment of stanzas 10-12 is disputed. Stanza 13 is addressed to Jupiter and Juno; this is clearly shown by the use of the plural, *vos*; by the language of the inscription ll. 103, 119, directing that sacrifices of a *bos mas* and a *bos femina* be made respectively to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and to Juno Regina; and also by ll. 12-16 of the Sibylline poem, πάνλευκοι ταῦροι δὲ Διὸς παρὰ βωμῶν ἀγέσθων . . . δαμάλης τε βοῶς δέμας ἀγλαὸν Ἥρης δεξάσθω νηός. With regard to stanzas 10-12 we may inquire,—Are they addressed to all the gods (as ll. 45, 46, the beginning of the apodosis, might indicate), or to Apollo and Diana, who are

¹This arrangement is found in the editions of Wickham, Orelli-Hirschfelder, Dillenburger, and others, and is adopted by Friedrich, Q. Horatius Flaccus, Phil. Untersuchungen, pp. 93-95.

²Cf. Pauly, Realencyclopädie, and Daremberg and Saglio, Dict. des Ant., s. v. Ilithyia. See also Baur, Illethya, in University of Missouri Studies, vol. 1, pp. 267 fol.

invoked in the preceding stanza, or to Jupiter and Juno, who are addressed in the following stanza? The second supposition,¹ which I prefer, is strengthened by the words, *audi, audi* (ll. 34, 35), with which the chorus beseeches the attention of Apollo and Diana. Stanzas 14 and 15 form a short discourse upon the present dominion, morality, and prosperity of the empire. The sixteenth and seventeenth stanzas are again addressed to Apollo, the eighteenth to Diana. The last stanza declares the hope of the chorus that their prayer is heard by Jupiter and by all the gods. We may thus outline the poem according to the following division:

Stanzas	1, 2,	addressed to Apollo and Diana,
"	3,	" " Apollo,
"	4-6,	" " Ilithyia (Diana),
"	7,	" " the Parcae,
"	8,	" " Ceres,
"	9-12,	" " Apollo and Diana,
"	13,	" " Jupiter and Juno,
"	14, 15,	relating the present condition of the empire,
"	16, 17,	addressed to Apollo,
"	18,	" " Diana,
"	19,	expressing hope of the chorus.

This analysis makes it clear that the *Carmen Saeculare* was addressed chiefly to the Palatine divinities, Apollo and Diana.² Of the nineteen stanzas, ten contain direct invocations to these deities; while only one can be assigned to Jupiter and Juno, whose names, even in this stanza, are not explicitly mentioned. The hymn, moreover, was sung on a day especially dedicated to the worship of Apollo and Diana, and immediately after sacrifice had been offered to them; and the closing lines of the poem refer to the

¹ Vahlen, Klessling, Wickham, Hirschfelder and other scholars refer these stanzas to Apollo and Diana.

² See Hermann, *De loco Apollinis in Carmine Saeculari*, Gött., 1843.

chorus as trained to sing the praises of these divinities, *doctus et Phoebi chorus et Dianae dicere laudes*. The fact that the Capitoline gods are not mentioned by name is explained by Mommsen (*supra* p. 52), though not satisfactorily, by supposing that the people present at the celebration understood what divinities were indicated in stanzas 10-13 (ll. 37-52) from the position of the chorus which was already in sight of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

But there is reason to suppose that the character of the *Ludi Saeculares*, as celebrated by Augustus, was quite different from that of the earlier time. They were no longer a festival in honor of Dispatet and Proserpina, as when first instituted (*Val. Max.*, 2, 4, 5). During all the ceremonies a prominent place was given to Apollo, whose worship in Italy was greatly extended during the last of the first century B. C., and who was regarded as the direct protector of the emperor and his family.¹

If we adopt the theory of Mommsen, we must assume that at least the first three stanzas of the hymn were sung at the temple of Apollo. The chorus would then begin to move on its way to the Capitoline hill, and could properly sing the following five stanzas. But how are we to regard the ninth stanza which a second time directly invokes Apollo and Diana? What is still more difficult, at the very next verse, according to Mommsen's assignment, the chorus should be standing before the temple of Jupiter. If at this sanctuary the chorus sang through stanza 13, only two verses remain before the procession should have returned to the Palatine hill. Are we to assume, then, that the chorus sang six stanzas on the way to the Capitoline, and

¹See Preller, *Röm. Myth.* vol. 13, pp. 309-311; Kiessling, *Zu Augusteischen Dichtern* (*Phil. Untersuch.*, vol. 3), p. 92; Pascal, *Il Culto di Apollo in Roma nel secolo di Augusto*, *Bull. com.*, vol. 23 (1894), pp. 52-88.

but two in returning? Such an arrangement would not have been symmetrical.¹

But the theory of a processional, furthermore, does not meet the topographical requirements. The path of the chorus would be along the Clivus Palatinus to about the point where the Arch of Titus stood in later times, thence by the Via Sacra to the Clivus Capitolinus, which led by a long winding path to the area before the shrine. The distance covered by the chorus in passing over this route may be calculated roughly as about 3500 feet. We must suppose that such processions moved very slowly; but, not to lay emphasis on the infelicitous choice of the sapphic stanza² for a hymn to be sung while marching, the adjustment of the choral performance to the distance traversed would be difficult.

Naturally other hypotheses suggest themselves which might still make Mommsen's theory possible. We may suppose that the Carmen was repeated, perhaps several times. But since the theory of a procession depends altogether upon the assignment of the first and last portions to Apollo and Diana and the middle portion to Jupiter and Juno, such a theory may be entertained only by assuming a single rendering of the hymn. Or, we may say that the chorus left the temple of Apollo at the very first line and returned at the very last. But this also involves difficulties and inconsistencies. Even in such a case the poem is too short for a single rendering by a procession moving slowly over so great a distance. The least objectionable method is to suppose that each line was repeated several times, like the song of the Arval Brethren. But Mommsen does not approve of a line repetition, which in the case of so finished

¹ A slightly different arrangement is conceived by Thiele, *Horaz und sein Säkulargedicht* (Erfurt, 1900), pp. 25-27, and by Wissowa, *Die Saecularfeier des Augustus* (Marburg, 1894), p. 22, n. 13.

² Cf. Christ, *Sitz. d. kgl. bayr. Acad.*, 1893, pp. 143, 144.

a work as Horace's *Carmen Saeculare* would in fact have been quite unsuitable.

In conclusion, it seems to me probable that the *Carmen Saeculare*, as a whole, was first sung upon the Palatine hill, in front of the temple of Apollo, immediately after sacrifice had been offered to the god; that then in stately procession the chorus passed over to the Capitoline hill, possibly chanting hymns along the way, and waving branches of laurel; and that there the *Carmen* was repeated.¹

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¹An interesting attempt at rendering the *Carmen Saeculare* in procession is recorded in the *The Century Magazine*, Oct. 1899, pp. 842-848.

STUDIES IN THE LIVES OF ROMAN EMPRESSES.

It was the purpose of these studies to combine the scanty evidence derived from literary sources with the testimony of coins and inscriptions in order to determine, if possible, the part which Julia Domna and Julia Mamaea took in the administration of the Roman Empire, and to estimate the extent of their influence. The first Study, dealing with the life and influence of Julia Domna, was published in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, second series, vol. 6 (1902), pp. 259-305.

II.—JULIA MAMAEA.

Within two years after Julia Domna's death members of her family were again in power. Her sister Maesa who had lived and grown rich in comparative obscurity at Rome under Severus and Caracalla and had followed Julia Domna to Asia,¹ controlled the destiny of the Empire for seventeen years by making two of her grandsons, successively, Emperors of Rome. For the first, the profligate boy Avitus, afterwards known as Elagabalus, she won the support of the army by bribery and the assertion that he was in truth a son of Caracalla,² and after he had exhausted the patience of the Empire by three years of debauchery, she managed to obtain the support of the army for the second, a boy of thirteen called Alexianus. Soon after he became Emperor, under the name Severus Alexander, Maesa died, leaving the administration of the Empire to her daughter, the Emperor's mother, Julia Avita Mamaea.³

¹ Dio Cassius, 78, 30; Herodian, 5, 3; Capitolinus, Macrinus 9, 1.

² Dio Cassius, 78, 31; Zonaras, 12, 13; Herodian, 5, 3.

³ Her name has this form in two inscriptions; C. I. L. II, 3413; Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, vol. 1, 484.

Of Mamaea's life previous to March, 222 A. D. the records are very scanty. She was the daughter of Julia Maesa, a sister of Julia Domna, and of Julius Avitus, a man of consular rank who held office under both Severus and Caracalla.¹ She had one sister, Julia Soaemias Bassiana.¹ Her early years were spent in Rome, in the imperial palace,² and probably in her father's mansion on the Esquiline hill.³ She married first a Syrian, Gessius Marcianus,⁴ to whom she bore a son Alexianus Bassianus, at Arcena, in the year 208.⁵ Dio Cassius states that Marcianus held the office of procurator, and it may be inferred from a passage in the Digest, that he attained consular dignity also, for according to the latter authority, when Mamaea wished to marry again, after her first husband's death, the Emperor Caracalla permitted her to retain her consular rank.⁶ There is no other mention of her second husband.⁷

While Julia Domna held her court at Antioch, Mamaea with her sister and their children resided at the ancestral home, Emesa. At the time of Caracalla's death, her son Alexianus, then nine years of age, assisted his cousin Avitus, in the priesthood of the Sun-god in the great temple of

¹ Dio Cassius, 78, 30.

² Herodian, 5, 3.

³ Water pipes indicate that a mansion belonging to Julius Avitus stood on the site of the present theater Costanzi; Not. d. Scav. 1879, p. 113; Lanclani, Topograph. d. Roma ant., Syl. Aq. p. 226, n. 100.

⁴ Dio Cassius, 78, 30.

⁵ Lampridius, Alexander 1; 5; Herodian, 5, 3. Alexianus who was ten years old in 218 A. D. was son of the first husband rather than of the second husband to whom Mamaea was married when Caracalla was sole Emperor; i. e. after 212.

⁶ C. I. C. Digest, 1, 9, 12; cf. 1, 9, 1: *Consulares feminas dicimus consularium uozores; adicit Saturnius etiam matres quod nec usquam relatum est nec unquam receptum.*

⁷ A daughter, Theoclia, of marriageable age about 230 A. D.—if her existence is not an invention of Capitolinus (Maximini 29)—was child of the second husband.

Emesa.¹ After the death of Julia Domna, Maesa, who was forced by Macrinus to return to her family at Emesa, was very soon engaged in the plot which brought her family again to power. Mamaea appears to have taken no active part in the conspiracy, though she followed the fortunes of her mother and sister, and after they had secured the support of the army for their pretensions, accompanied them to the camp near Emesa in which they found a refuge.² In consequence of this step, she was mentioned as a public enemy in the decree of the senate declaring war upon 'Avidus and his cousin, their mothers and their grandmother.'³ There is no evidence that she was present at the battle near Antioch, fought June 8, 218 A. D. which decided the struggle in favor of her nephew,⁴ but she certainly accompanied the victorious army, for she spent the following winter at Nicomedia with the new court.⁵ There the soldiers, who had learned to despise their new Emperor, began to look upon Mamaea's son as a possible successor to his cousin.⁶

At some time during the summer of 219 A. D. Mamaea attended the Emperor and the imperial family to Rome.⁶ She kept apart from the general life of the court, and devoted herself to the training of her son.⁷ When in the year 221 Elagabalus, at Maesa's suggestion, formally adopted his cousin, under the name of Alexander,⁸ Mamaea increased her care of her son's education, determining to make of him

¹ Herodian, 5, 3.

² Herodian, 5, 3; Capitolinus, Macrinus 9, 4-6.

³ Dio Cassius, 78, 38.

⁴ *Ibid.* 39.

⁵ Lampridius, Hellogabalus 5.

⁶ Wirth, *Quaest. Sever.* p. 16, says July, 219 A. D.; Goyau, *Chronologie*, p. 270, before Sept. 29, 219 A. D.; cf. Mommsen, *Kor. Blatt.* vol. 5 (1886), p. 50-51.

⁷ Lampridius, Alex. 3.

⁸ Herodian, 5, 7.

an Emperor worthy of the name.¹ Her persistent refusal to permit him to share in the revels in honor of the Sun, even in the face of a peremptory summons from the Emperor,² made Elagabalus so angry that he attempted to destroy his cousin.

As Mamaea was sure of Maesa's support, she felt herself in a position to defy the Emperor openly. She forbade all intercourse between her retainers and the imperial retinue, but saw to it that Alexander was served by her own trusted servants;³ at the same time by the secret distribution of large sums of money, she employed the surest means of gaining the support of the praetorian guards for her cause.⁴ If she did not confirm Maesa's declaration that Alexander no less than Elagabalus was son of Caracalla, she at least offered no objection to a relationship which the wily Augusta knew would awaken the loyalty of all who had been devoted to the house of Severus.⁴

Early in the year 222, Mamaea and her mother with the help of the praetorians not only thwarted the Emperor in an open attempt to murder his adopted son,⁵ but also forced him to promise reform and to accept Alexander as his consort in power.⁶ This state of affairs soon proved to be intolerable, for in March of the same year, as the Emperor renewed his plots, both Mamaea and Soemias with their mother and their sons appealed to the praetorians in the

¹ Herodian, 5, 7; Lampridius, Alex. 3.

² Herodian, 5, 7.

³ Herodian, 5, 8.

⁴ Herodian, 5, 7; the inscription from Rev. Arch., vol. 35 (1899), p. 178, n. 57, cited in Part I of these studies is a dedication made 229 A. D. to the deified Severus—'grandfather of Severus Alexander.' Alexander is named sometimes 'son of Antoninus, grandson of Severus,' as in C. I. L. VI, 2108; again 'son of Severus,' as in C. I. L. II, 1533. Herodian makes Alexander style himself the son of Antoninus in a harangue preceding the Persian expedition; Herodian, 6, 3.

⁵ Dio Cassius, 79, 19; Lampridius, Hellog. 14.

⁶ Dessau, Insc. Lat. Select., vol. 1, 475; C. I. L. III, p. 892.

camp, each demanding their support for herself. A public quarrel between the sisters brought matters to a crisis¹ and Soemias and her son were murdered by a frenzied mob of soldiers and citizens.² Then, in the midst of indescribable atrocities, the praetorians proclaimed Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Emperor.³

The senate accepted the choice of the soldiers and heaped on Alexander Severus in a single day all of the honors which made a man Emperor of Rome.⁴ His first official act was to cause his mother to be named Augusta.⁵ The actual administration of public affairs was in the hands of Mamaea and of Maesa,⁶ for Alexander, who was little more than thirteen years of age, could rule in name only. They dismissed from the palace and from office the servants of Elagabalus.⁷ They returned to their own shrines the sacred symbols which he had brought into the temple of his divinity the Sun.⁸ Of more importance to the welfare of the Empire was their choice of councillors for the Emperor. Sixteen men were chosen to represent the senate,⁹ together with an advisory board of experienced soldiers, which was to be consulted on all subjects pertaining to the army.¹⁰

The disastrous result of the appointment by Severus of the jurist Papinian to the double office of praetorian prefect and guardian to the young Emperor,¹¹ did not prevent Mamaea from making a similar experiment. She chose the Syrian jurist Ulpian as her chief councillor and made him

¹ Dio Cassius, 79, 20. Herodian, 5, 8.

² Dio Cassius, 79, 20; Herodian, 5, 8; Lampridius, Hellog. 17; Victor, Ept. 23, 5-7.

³ Lampridius, Alex. 1, 3.

⁴ Zonaras, 12, 15.

⁵ Herodian, 6, 1.

⁶ Ibid.; Lampridius, Alex. 15, 1.

⁷ Herodian, 6, 1; Zonaras, 12, 15.

⁸ Lampridius, Alex. 16, 3; Herodian, 6, 1; Zosimus, 1, 11, 2.

⁹ Dio Cassius, 77, 1; Spartianus, Carac. 8, 1-7; Zosimus, 1, 9.

praetorian prefect as well as guardian of Alexander.¹ The two officers who commanded the guards when Alexander was made Emperor must have rendered substantial support to Mamaea's cause, but in spite of this and without regard to the fact that they had the confidence of their men, they were superseded. The guards resented the interference and listened readily to the deposed prefects when they suggested the murder of Ulpian, but their conspiracy was detected by the Empress regent and her minister, and the leaders were executed.² This quarrel with the praetorians was the beginning of the ill-feeling between army and palace, which in the end destroyed the Syrian dynasty.³

Yet in spite of trouble with the guards, reforms followed one another in rapid succession, and civil and military administration was improved.⁴ Herodian, in his dislike for Mamaea, gives Maesa credit for all that was successful in the new policy, but this must be regarded as undue praise, for she is not even mentioned by other historians after the death of Elagabalus, and it is certain that she died soon after the new government was organized.⁵

Two inscriptions indicate that while Maesa lived Mamaea yielded the precedence to her. The first is a tablet found in the Atrium Vestae at Rome. It was dedicated, probably, in the Palatine *statio frumentariorum*, by T. Flavius Domitianus, who as a native of Nicomedia and an officer of the police⁶ had double reasons for honoring the family of

¹ Zosimus, 1, 11, 3; Dio Cassius, 80, 1: Ulpian was made praetorian prefect between March 31, and Dec. 1, 222 A. D.; in a rescript dated Dec. 1, 222, Ulpian is called *praefectum praetorium et neum parentem*; C. I. C. Cod. 4, 65, 4; Hirschfeldt, *Untersuch. Röm. Verwaltungsgeschichte*, vol. 1, p. 234.

² Zosimus, 1, 11, 2-3; Dio Cassius, 80, 2; cf. Lamprid. *Alex.* 51.

³ Büdinger, *Untersuch. z. röm. Kais.* vol. 3, p. 224.

⁴ Dio Cassius, 80, 2; Lampridius, *Alex.* 46; Herodian, 6, 1.

⁵ Herodian, 6, 1.

⁶ *Bull. dell' Inst. Arch.* 1884, p. 27 (Henzen).

Severus. He fulfilled a vow by making the following dedication, in which the name of Mamaea is placed after that of Maesa (Dessau, *Inscript. Lat. Select.* vol. 1, 484):

Pro salute domini|nostri imperator(is)|Severi Alexandri
Pii|Augusti et|Iuliae Maesae et|Iuliae Avitae|Mameae sanc-
tissimarum|Augustarum|Genio sancto castror(um)|peri-
grinorum|T. Flavius Domitianus|domo Nicomedia, quod|
speculator leg(ionis) III Parth(icae)|Severianae vovit, has|
tatus leg(ionis) X Fretensis|princeps peregrinorum|reddedit.

The second inscription is the dedication on a marble tablet erected by praetorians in Rome in honor of the newly made Emperor; the names of the two women appear in the same order (C. I. L. VI, 2832, l. 1-3):

[e]t Iuli [ae Maesae Augustae]|aviae [Augusti e]t Iuliae|
Mame [ae Augustae] matris Aug(usti) [et c]astrorum.

Of the years which followed Maesa's death we have only a meager record. Mamaea increased, if that can be believed, her watchful care over her son; she allowed no person of bad repute to have access to him and kept him occupied in administering imperial justice and in consultations with his councillors.¹ Alexander made no effort to assert his independence and seems to have followed without question the course which she indicated. His legal guardian, Ulpian, was, at the most, minister to Mamaea whose anomalous position under Roman law is best illustrated by an imperial decision rendered in the year 224, to this effect: 'To act as guardian is the office of a man; such business is incompatible with feminine weakness.'²

The greatest honor was paid to Mamaea both at Rome and abroad. She received the title *mater castrorum* before

¹ Herodian, 6, 1.

² C. I. C. Cod. 5, 35: *Imperator Alexander Augustus Otaciliae: Tutelam administrare virile munus est et ultra sexum feminiae infirmitatis tale officium est, X. Kal. Oct. Iuliano et Crispino Consulibus.*

Maesa's death.¹ We have curious testimony, too, that she was regarded as regent of the Empire in the fact that her name was given to a cohort of watchmen, a distinction accorded to no other Empress. This is shown by an inscription scratched in Greek letters on the stucco of the Transteverine barracks of the seventh cohort of the vigiles, in which one Plutarchus records that he has duly performed the *sebaeiaria*, as follows (C. I. L. VI, 3008):

Αυρελιος Πλουταρχος κεντυρια|/// ικλανι χωτη ε|εστιμα βι
 \\\ λ|ων μιμι σεβηρι|αλεξανδρι φηκι σεβα|κιαρια μεσι Μαρτι|ομνα
 τοτα.²

The coins struck for her during these years support the statement of Lampridius³ that there was everywhere an expectation of better things, for beside the *CONCORDIA*⁴ referring to the harmony existing between mother and son, and the *FECUNDITAS AUGUSTAE S C.*,⁵ referring to her as an imperial mother, there are many legends relating to the state of the Empire and to public rejoicing. The face of each coin has the portrait of Mamaea, and the legend *IULIA MAMAEA AUG.* On the reverse is *PAX AETERNA AUG*⁶ or *FELICITAS PERPETUA*,⁷ legends which made their first appearance on coins of Alexander and Mamaea, or *FELICITAS AUG S C.*,⁸ *FELICITAS PUBLICA*,⁹ *FELICITAS TEMPORUM*,¹⁰

¹C. I. L. VI, 2832. The title was probably given by praetorians who made Alexander Augustus, as this inscription is dedicated by praetorians; cf. C. I. L. XIV, 125, 224 A. D.

²That is, Aurelius Plutar|chus centuria|[Her]clani cho[r]te s|e|p[ti]ma bi[g]lum Mami(ana) Seberi(ana)|Alexa[n]dri(ana). Feci sebaeiaria mesi Marti(o) omni[st]a tuta. ³Lampridius, Alex. 2, 5.

⁴Cohen, vol. 4, p. 490, n. 4.

⁵Ibid. n. 8.

⁶Ibid. n. 47; *Pax Aeterna* was introduced by Septimus Severus, Ibid. p. 40.

⁷Ibid. n. 15.

⁸Ibid. n. 10. This legend was introduced on Trajan's coins, and used afterwards on coins of many others.

⁹Ibid. n. 17 ff. This legend was introduced on coins of Severus and of Julia Domna.

¹⁰Ibid. This legend was introduced on coins of Niger.

SAECULI FELICITAS.¹ Coins with the legend MATER AUGUSTI ET CASTRORUM² were probably struck soon after she became Empress.

Mamaea's name is mentioned in inscriptions less frequently than Julia Domna's. The wealth of the Empire had diminished under the reckless extravagance of Caracalla and Elagabalus to such an extent that there were few buildings erected and dedicated to the imperial house. However in a large proportion of the dedications made Mamaea was mentioned with Alexander.

Inscriptions from Africa indicate that a fort³ or bath was built at Cidamus and a fort at Gharria,⁴ and dedicated to the Emperor and to 'Julia Mamaea Augusta, mother of Augustus and of the camp,' both under the supervision of an officer of *legio III Augusta pia vindex Severiana*, who was stationed at Cidamus for special duty; that at Thignica in the year 229 the provision market was rebuilt 'in the time of Alexander and of Julia Mamaea, mother of Augustus and of the camp and of the senate and of her country,'⁵ the date being given by the names of the Emperor and his mother in the ablative case; and that buildings for unknown purposes were erected in two other towns.⁶

Mamaea held much property in her own name, and was personally concerned in the construction of many public works. Inscriptions on lead pipes prove that she owned near Praeneste a villa which still seems to retain a reminiscence of her name in that its piscina is called *Grotta Mammosa*.⁷ Inscriptions of other lead pipes show that she

¹ Ibid. This legend was introduced on coins of Faustina the younger.

² Ibid. This legend was introduced on Mamaea's coins.

³ C. I. L. VIII, 1.

⁴ Ibid. 3.

⁵ Ibid. 1406.

⁶ Ibid. 1313; 1429. Schauwasch and Tebursuk.

⁷ C. I. L. XIV, 3037, notes; Lanciani, *Topograph. di Roma antica*, Syl. Aq. p. 256, n. 324.

occupied and repaired the Lateran palace at Rome.¹ Coins of the year 226 A. D. have as a design on the reverse the baths erected by Alexander, and on the face the portraits and names of the Emperor and Empress,² an indication that Mamaea as well as her son was interested in this work. That she had some part in the construction of the Nymphaeum of Alexander, is made probable by the fact that water pipes bearing her own and her son's name have been found in the vicinity of the so-called 'Trophies of Marius.'³ According to Lampridius, Alexander erected an addition to the imperial palace on the Palatine and gave it his mother's name, a designation which it preserved in the corrupt form *ad Mammam*, in Constantine's time.⁴ A palace and a pool which he had built for her at Baiae⁵ retained her name still longer, for Ammianus Marcellinus states that the nobles of his time visited the *Aquae Mamaeae*, at Baiae.⁶ Still another structure, which, as some think, preserves Mamaea's name is the *Ponte Mammolo* a bridge over the Anio four miles from Rome on the Via Tiburtina. According to this assumption the form *Mammolo* is a corruption of the name Mamaea and would indicate that the Empress repaired the bridge.⁶ There is no inscription or literary reference to sustain this hypothesis.

So few of the inscriptions containing Mamaea's name are dated that it is impossible either to give them in chronological order or to determine, in most cases, the occasion of their dedication. The few inscriptions following give some information in regard to Mamaea's career.

In the first place it is evident that she imitated Severus

¹ Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations*, p. 339; this pipe was discovered in 1890.

² Cohen, vol. 4, p. 483, n. 14; 17.

³ Helbig, *Guide to Class. Antiq. in Rome*, vol. 1, p. 289.

⁴ Lampridius, *Alex.* 26, 9-10.

⁵ Ammianus Marcellinus, 28, 4, 19.

⁶ Nibby, *Dintorni di Roma*, vol. 2, p. 578.

in extending the police force, for a division of the *frumentarii* stationed at Ostia dedicated to her and to Alexander in the third year of his reign a tablet with this inscription (C. I. L. XIV, 125):

Imp(eratori) Caesari M. [A]urelio|Severo Alexandro|Felice Aug(usto) et Iulie Mameae|matri domini n(ostri) et castror(um)|totiusq(ue) d(omus) d(ivinae) statio n(umeri) frumentariorum|locus adsignatus ab Agricola Aug(usti) lib(erto) proc(uratore) p(ortus) u(triusque)|et Petronio Maximo (centurione) ann(onae) et Fabio Maronae (centurione).|operum dedic(atum) III non(as) Aug(usti) Appio Cl(audio) Iuliano et Brutt(io)|Crispinoco(n)s(ulibus), patrono Q. Turrano Masila cura(m)|agente. P. Flavio Fl. filio Felici Iunioris|et Valerio Donato cur(antibus).

In 227 the praetorians, in spite of their hatred of Ulpian, dedicated a tablet to Asclepias Zimidrenus for the divine house.¹ An inscription made in 228 shows for what reason several persons erected an altar to Asclepias² (C. I. L. VI, 13):

Pro salute imp(eratoris) Caes(aris)|M. Aur(elii)|Sev(eri) Al[ex]x(andri)|pii Fel(icis)|Aug(usti) et|Iul(iae) Ma|meae ma|tri Aug(ust|i) n(ostri)|et castr(or)um|ab Aurelio|Silvano|trib(un)u|d(onum) d(ante) l(ibente).

It seems probable that both of these dedications to the god of healing were occasioned by the illness of either the Emperor or Mamaea, and that the coins with the inscription SALUS AUGUST. refer to the same circumstance.³

An inscription of 229 A. D. indicates that members of the vigiles were still loyal supporters of Mamaea, for a watchman in the Transteverine barracks, scratched on the

¹ C. I. L. VI, 2799.

² Inscriptions on the sides give the date, the dedication to Asclepias, and the names of the donors.

³ Alexander's coins have the inscriptions, *Salus Augusti*, *Salus Publica*, &c. *Saluti Augusti*; Mamaea's, *Salus August.*; Cohen, vol. 4, p. 455 ff.; p. 490.

wall under rough portraits¹ of Alexander and Mamaea the following record (C. I. L. VI, 3075):

Imp(eratore) d(omino) (nostro) Alexandro III|co(n)-
s(ule) (centuria) Auli Terentius|Felix devotus numini|
eorum feci sebacci|aria m(ense) Maiio|salvis commanipu-
los.²

While Mamaea's power was acknowledged, and she received honor from soldiers and citizens as well as from her son, there was rebellion against imperial authority in several parts of the Empire.³ A second inscription of the year 229 has reference to a victory perhaps over the usurper Uranius Antoninus whose name occurs on coins and is mentioned by Zosimus. The column on which it was written has been found recently in situ in Beuel, Germany. It is as follows Rev. Arch., vol. 34 (1899), p. 315, l. 1-12:

[Iovi] O(ptimo) M(aximo),|[Marti] Propugnatori [sa-
crum];|[victo]riæ saluti imp(eratoris)|[Sevs]ri Alexandri
Aug(usti) n(ostri)|[et M]ameæ Aug(ustæ) m(a)tri eius|
[et e]xercitus M. Aureli S[e]ver]i Alexandri Pii Felicis|
[inv]icti Aug(usti) totius|[qu]e domus divine eius [le]g(io) I
M(inervia)[pia] F(idelis) severiana Ale|[zand]r[ia]na cum
auxiliis|[pu]gna r[e]bus peractis|etc.

In Rome itself rioting was occasioned by the unpopularity of Ulpian,⁴ but in spite of these disturbances in the Empire and the disaffection of the guards, Mamaea was strong enough to support him in his office until the year 228. Then at last the praetorians who were again in sedition followed their hated prefect into the very presence of

¹ The faces have been partially erased; a victory with a palm stands between them.

² Sic; Ann. d. Inst. Arch., 1874, p. 156.

³ The statements of historians and the testimony of coins and inscriptions do not agree. Zosimus, I, 12; Victor, Epitome 24; Lampridius, Alex. 49; Cohen, vol. 4, p. 503.

⁴ Dio Cassius, 80, 2; Syncellus, Chron. p. 357, D.

Mamaea and Alexander and killed him without regard to the Emperor's feeble attempt to protect his minister.¹

Mamaea never lost her influence over her son, but there is reason to believe that in the years before Ulpian's death, their relations were not altogether harmonious. If we may trust Herodian,² a quarrel followed Alexander's marriage. Mamaea had chosen a wife for her son, a patrician girl who immediately won his affection, but incurred the anger of her mother-in-law by aspiring to the titles and honors of an Augusta. The girl's cause was not helped by her father, who appealed to the praetorians with some design of supplanting the insolent Empress and her son; at least Mamaea construed his conduct as treasonable, and, glad of an excuse for ridding herself of a troublesome rival, she caused the execution of the father, and in spite of Alexander's protests, banished the daughter to Africa.³ As other historians do not mention this story but do state that Alexander's father-in-law conspired against him, and as Mamaea retained her influence over her son, a state of affairs which could hardly have existed if she had acted entirely without regard to his wishes, it is probable that the young Augusta's father was actually one of the many aspirants for imperial honors, who vexed Alexander's reign, and that the girl herself was not without fault. And it can hardly be regarded as an act of capricious tyranny that Mamaea followed the only course possible to a Roman Emperor under the circumstances, and destroyed the conspirators. Herodian does not mention the

¹ Dio Cassius, 80, 2; Zosimus, 1, 11, 3; cf. Lampridius, *Alex.* 51, 4; Zonaras, 12, 15; for the date cf. Wirth, *Quaest. Sev.* p. 16.

² Herodian, 6, 1. Dexippus gave a different account of the marriage and divorce (Lampridius, *Alex.* 49, 3); Büdinger, *Untersuch. z. röm. Kais.*, vol. 3, p. 208, n. 3. Zonaras follows Herodian in the account of the marriage. Herzog identifies the usurper Uranius as Sallustius, father of Orbiana, though Lampridius calls the traitor father-in-law Macrinus or Martianus (Lampridius, *Alex.* 49, 3-5; Herzog., *Gesch. und Syst.* vol. 2, p. 499).

unfortunate lady's name, but it seems probable that she was the Gneia Seia Herennia Sallustia Barbia Orbiana, whose name is preserved by many coins and three inscriptions.¹

Coins struck during the year in which Orbiana was wife of Alexander² prove that in spite of Mamaea's protest, she received the name Augusta, and an inscription indicates that she was also distinguished by the epithet characteristic of the Syrian house, *sanctissima*.³ Coins of silver and bronze have the portrait of Mamaea on the face, with the legend IULIA MAMAEA AUG MAT AUGUSTI, and on the reverse the legend IMP SEV ALEXANDER AUG SALL BARBIA ORBIANA AUG, with portraits of the Emperor and of his wife.⁴ The relative position of the Emperor and his mother has a parallel only in the coins of the family of Severus.⁵ In Valentia, Spain, statues were erected to Mamaea and to Orbiana, with the following inscriptions (C. I. L. II, 3734):

Gnaeae|Seiae Heren|niae Sallus|tiae Barbiae|Orbianae
Aug(ustae)|coniugi domi|ni nostri Aug(usti)|Valentini
ve|terani et|veteres.

(C. I. L. II, 3733):

Iuliae|Mamae|ae Aug(ustae) ma|tri // // // // //| // // // // //| // // // // //|
Valentini|veterani|et veteres.

With the year 227, justly or unjustly condemned, Orbiana disappears entirely from the records of the time.

There is nothing to confirm the statement of Lampridius that Alexander married another wife, Memmia, daughter of Sulpicius, and grand-daughter of Catulus, and that she

¹ Schiller, *Rom. Kais.*, vol. 1, p. 775. Herennius Orbianus, Arval brother in the time of Antoninus Pius, was probably an ancestor of Orbiana; Henzen, *Acta Fr. Arv.* p. 188.

² 226-7 A. D.; Eckhel, vol. 7, p. 284; Cohen, vol. 4, p. 486; for the date see C. I. L. X, 1653-4.

³ C. I. L. VIII, 9355.

⁴ Cohen, vol. 4, p. 502.

⁵ Coins struck after Caracalla's marriage; Cohen, vol. 4, p. 103; 137.

united with Mamaea in trying to rouse the Emperor's ambition.¹

Before the year 229 A. D.² Mamaea's title had been so extended that it included, and in one case³ even surpassed the most elaborate title given to Julia Domna. There were many dedications to Mamaea in different parts of the Empire. Sometimes they contain simply her name, as in the case of tablets found at Bovino⁴ and Veleia,⁵ the latter belonging to a series of dedications to members of imperial houses from the beginning of the Empire till the time of Probus: more often the dedications give the name of the dedicator also. There have been found, belonging to the latter class, several dedications by soldiers, in Dacia, for example (C. I. L. III, 798):

Iuliae Mameae Au|gustae matri sanc|tissimi imp(eratoris)
Caes(aris)|Severi Alexandri|Aug(usti) et castrorum|senatus-
que ala|Frontiniana Ale|xandriana ex|quaestura sua,
dedicante|[Ia]sdio Domitia|[no][l]eg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o)-
pr(aetore).

Under the same legatus a similar dedication was made to Alexander.⁶ The *exploratores* of Halicinium on the German frontier made an offering of the same kind to Mamaea.⁷ At Lambaesis the *seniores* of *curia Sabina* dedicated a tablet to Alexander and to Mamaea Augusta, 'mother of our Augustus and of the camp and of the senate and of her country,'⁸ and a soldier of *legio XXII Alexandriana pia fidelis* at Tarnaiae Nantuatium dedicated in honor of the divine house an altar, *Genio stationis*.⁹

¹ Lampridius, Alex. 20, 3. Tillemont (Hist. Rom., vol. 3, p. 184), cites coins with the name Sulpicia Memmia Aug.; Eckhel, vol. 7, p. 284, cites a spurious coin of that name.

² Cf. C. I. L. VIII, 1406. ³ C. I. L. II, 3413. ⁴ C. I. L. IX, 963.

⁵ C. I. L. XI, 1175; cf. 1164-1180.

⁶ C. I. L. III, 797.

⁷ Woch. f. klass. Phil., vol. 14 (1897), p. 167; cf. Lampridius, Alex. 58, 4.

⁸ C. I. L. VIII, 2714.

⁹ C. I. L. XII, 144.

More elaborate inscriptions served to dedicate statues of Mamaea erected at Tyndaris¹ in Sicily, at Sida² in Pamphylia, and by the Colonia Julia Gemella Acci³ in Spain. These name Mamaea, 'mother of the Emperor and of the camp,' but the district of Carthage, Spain, gave her a title which described her as mother, and by implication guardian of the whole world⁴ (C. I. L. II, 3413):

Juliae Avitae|Mameae Aug(ustae)|matri domini|n(ostri)
sanctissimi|imp(eratoris) Severi Ale|xandri Pii Fe|licis
Aug(usti) et|castrorum et|senatus et pa|triae et univer|si
generis hu|mani conven|tus Karthag(inis).

Several mutilated inscriptions indicate merely a dedication to Alexander and Mamaea.⁵ At Rome praetorian soldiers recorded on a marble cippus some gift 'for the prosperity' of Alexander and Mamaea;⁶ soldiers of some unknown legion, a shrine;⁷ and at Ostia,⁸ and in towns of Dacia and Pannonia⁹ and Africa¹⁰ prayer was made to different gods on behalf of the 'Emperor Alexander,' and of 'Julia Mamaea Augusta, mother of our Augustus and of the camp.'

So far Mamaea had proved herself a successful regent.

¹ C. I. L. X, 7478.

² C. I. G. 4343. The names of Julia Domna and Caracalla are supplied by the editor to fill evident erasures. As their memory was not attained it is probable that we should supply rather the names of Alexander and Mamaea.

³ C. I. L. II, 3393; 3391 to Faustina; 3394 to Magnia Urbica.

⁴ A priest of the Caesars at Anticaria, Spain, named Livia *Genetrix Orbis*; C. I. L. II, 2038.

⁵ C. I. L. VIII, 10767, Numidia; 1484, 14885, Provincia Proconsularis.

⁶ C. I. L. VI, 2833.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 223.

⁸ I. G. Sic. et Ital. 914.

⁹ C. I. L. III, 3327; 7955.

¹⁰ C. I. L. VIII, 8203; 14682; cf. *Rev. Arch.*, vol. 40 (1902), p. 140, n. 11.

She had been able to suppress disorder at Rome and in other parts of the Empire, and to destroy all who had conspired against her, though at times with decided loss to herself. Abuses introduced by Elagabalus had been reformed. The Empire had recovered to some extent from the effects of the extravagance of the two preceding Emperors, but Mamaea's prudence in expenditure diminished her favor with the soldiers,¹ where a wise liberality would have done much to establish their loyalty. In these matters Mamaea exhibited a fatal lack of discernment. She failed to understand that the support of the army was essential to the stability of the Empire, and she hoped for a reign free from all bloodshed.² Her son, who was not yet twenty years of age, was completely under her influence, and with all desire for the welfare of his subjects was a petty martinet rather than a broad-minded ruler, a defect which Mamaea's training tended to foster. He incurred even the charge of cowardice by his regard for Mamaea's maternal anxiety which led her to hold him back from all that involved personal risk.³

While the Empire was in this condition, because imperial power was in the hands of a woman and a lad both equally without experience in war and unable to command the obedience of their armies,⁴ there came to the city news of trouble in the East, where Ardeshir,⁵ who claimed descent from the old rulers of Persia, having conquered the Parthian

¹ Herodian, 6, 1; Dio Cassius, 80, 2; Lampridius, Alex. 14, 7. The charge of avarice was brought by some authorities against Alexander, by others against Mamaea; Lampridius follows both. Büdinger, *Untersuch. z. Röm. Kais.*, vol. 3, p. 210.

² Cf. Herodian, 6, 2.

³ Herodian, 6, 5.

⁴ Dio Cassius, 80, 4.

⁵ So styled by coins, Schiller, *Röm. Kais.*, vol. 1, p. 776, n. 3; Artaxares, Agathias; Artaxerxes, Dio Cassius, Herodian and Lampridius. The date was before 220, because Dio Cassius, who ended his history in that year, mentions the threatened trouble in the East.

king,¹ was demanding that the Romans retire from Asia and leave to him his ancestral possessions.² After protracted negotiations, it became apparent that the Emperor must take the field in person or must submit to Ardeshir's demand.

Herodian and Lampridius state that Alexander made great preparations for this campaign,³ and coins, confirming this testimony, add the information that Mamaea was associated with him. These coins bear on the face portraits of both Alexander and Mamaea, and the legend IMPERATOR ALEXANDER AUGUSTUS, IULIA MAMAEA AUGUSTA MATER AUGUSTI⁴, and on the reverse refer by design and legend to the war. With the legend ROMA AETERNA, Alexander is represented as sacrificing before a small temple, in which is a seated statue of Rome. Behind him stand two figures with spears, before him priests and an attendant leading a bull.⁵ With the legend IUPPITER CONSERVATOR, is a design representing Alexander holding a libation bowl and sceptre; he faces Jupiter and is accompanied by a soldier carrying a standard. In the background is a lighted altar.⁶ A similar design is found⁷ with the legend FIDES MILITUM. Still another coin with the date *trib pot VIII* (230 A. D.) represents Alexander as seated holding a Victory and sceptre; he is crowned by a soldier who carries a shield inscribed Vot X.⁸ On coins of Mamaea with the legend MATER CASTRORUM in addition to the designs borrowed from coins

¹ 226 A. D.; Schiller, *Rom. Kais.*, vol. 1, p. 776.

² Agathias, 2, 26; 4, 24; Dio Cassius, 80, 3-4; Herodian, 6, 2-4.

³ Herodian, 6, 3-4; Lampridius, *Alex.* 55.

⁴ Cohen, vol. 4, p. 480 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.* n. 20-21; cf. Alexander, Cohen, vol. 4, p. 455, 231 A. D.

⁶ *Ibid.* n. 11; on coins of Hadrian; Cohen, vol. 2, p. 177. On no other woman's coins.

⁷ *Ibid.* *Fides Militum* appears first on coins of Galba, Cohen, vol. 1, p. 323. The design noted here is also on coins of Alexander with this legend, Cohen, vol. 4, p. 407; on coins of no other woman.

⁸ Cohen, vol. 4, p. 483, n. 15.

of Julia Domna and Faustina representing the Empress as priestess or protector of the standards, there appears one remarkable design expressing apparently the idea that the prosperity of the Empire secured by Mamaea's administration will furnish abundant support for the army; Mamaea seated holds in one hand a globe; she rests the other arm upon the horn of plenty; before her Pietas makes an offering of perfumes at a lighted altar; behind, two standards.¹ The harangues by which Alexander sought to prepare his soldiers for duty² are recorded also on the reverse of a coin of Alexander and Mamaea. With the legend *ADLOCUTIO AUGUSTI*, the Emperor is represented as addressing three soldiers in military array.³

At last, in 231 A. D., came the time for departure. The coins again preserve the record; for, with the portraits of Emperor and Empress, the reverse has the legend *PROF AUG PONTIF MAX TR P X COS III P P*,⁴ and a design representing Alexander starting for war, preceded by a Victory, who holds a crown and palm, and followed by a soldier.⁵

Inscriptions from this time have reference to the danger with which the Emperor was threatened. In 230 the soldiers of Szent-Endre,⁶ in Pannonia, dedicated tablets to

¹ Cohen, vol. 4, p. 494, n. 43-46.

² Herodian, 6, 3; Lampridius, Alex. 53.

³ Cohen, vol. 4, p. 480, n. 1. The same design and legend are found on coins of Alexander, *ibid.* p. 402. *Adlocutio*, appears first on coins of Hadrian, Cohen, vol. 2, p. 106; it is found on coins of no other Augusta.

⁴ *Profectio Augusti pontificis maximi tribuniciae potestatis X consulis III patris patriae.*

⁵ Cohen, vol. 4, p. 484, n. 18. The legend *Profectio Aug.* first appears in the time of Trajan with a design much the same as that cited. Cohen, vol. 2, p. 50, n. 310 &c.; this is found on coins of no other Augusta.

⁶ C. I. L. III, 3638, gives the date.

Alexander and Mamaea. The tablet in honor of Mamaea is as follows (C. I. L., III, 3639):

Iuliae | Mameae | Aug(ustae) | mati | d(omini) | n(ostri)
 invicti | imp(eratoris) | Severi | Alexandri | (Pii) | F(elicis)
 Augusti | et castrorum | coh(ors) I (miliaria) | N. S. S. S(everi-
 ana) | devota nu | mini eorum.¹

The Arval Brotherhood on January third, 231, made reference to the war, for they sacrificed to Juno Regina, Minerva, and Salus Publica, 'for the prosperity of Severus Alexander,' and 'of Julia Mamaea, mother of our Augustus and of the camp, of the senate and her country,' and 'of their whole divine house.'² An undated fragment recording another sacrifice of the same fraternity may well refer to this expedition; for prayer is made for Julia Mamaea, with her titles, for 'their whole house, for the senate, and Roman people.'³

When Mamaea and Alexander left Rome, they were accompanied by the tears and prayers of all the citizens, says Herodian, and they proceeded directly to Antioch.⁴ From Antioch mother and son took the field against Ardeshir, when his insolence became unendurable.⁵ Herodian and Lampridius⁶ give contradictory accounts of the campaign which followed, but from their narratives it seems probable that the division of the Roman army commanded by the Emperor met with reverses,⁷ and that the soldiers blamed the Empress mother for her son's want of success.⁸ However after the Romans had retired to Antioch to recover strength for another attack upon their enemy, it became evident that the main object of the expedition had been attained. The

¹ The name of the cohort is not known.

² C. I. L. VI, 2108.

³ Ibid. 2111.

⁴ Herodian, 6, 4.

⁵ Zonaras, 12, 15; cf. Herodian, 6, 4.

⁶ Herodian, 6, 4-5; Lampridius, Alex. 55; 57.

⁷ Herodian, 6, 5.

aggressions of Ardeshir had been checked, and the Persian army was demoralized.¹

While at Antioch, Eusebius says that Mamaea sent for Origen, the report of whose zeal and piety had reached the Emperor's court, and examined him with regard to the Christian religion of which he was the most eminent living disciple. So effectual was his exposition that the Empress was not only interested but also induced to extend her protection to those who professed the new faith.² There is reliable testimony that there were Christians among the members of the imperial household,³ although no evidence supports the late tradition⁴ that Mamaea became a Christian.

After the dispersion of the Persian army, Alexander returned to Rome and celebrated a triumph in honor of his victory.⁵ Coins and several inscriptions have allusions to these events. Inscriptions from Thubursicum Bure, in Africa, show that a dedication was made *Victoriis Augustis Alexandri et Mamaeae* and that statues of Victories were erected.⁶ At Sicca Veneria, in Numidia, a tablet dedicated by the municipal council bears a date, 233 A. D., showing that it refers to the return from the campaign in Persia (C. I. L. VIII, 15846):

Fortunae reduci Aug(ustae)|imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M.
Aureli Severi Ale|xandri Pii Felicis Aug(usti) pontif(icis)|
max(im)i trib(uniciae) potest(atis) XII co(n)s(ulis) III
p(atris) p(atriciae)|et Iuliae Mammaeae A[u]g(ustae) [matri]s

¹ Herodian, 6, 6.

² Eusebius, Hist. Ecc. 6, 21, 3; cf. Zon. 12, 15.

³ Eusebius, Ecc. Hist. 6, 28; cf. Orosius, 7, 19, 2; Zonaras, 12, 16.

⁴ Orosius, 7, 18, 7; Syncellus, Chron. p. 358, D.; Cedrenus, Comp. Hist. under Alexander; Glycas, Annals, 3, Alexander; Suidas, Origen.

⁵ Lampridius, Alex. 56-57.

⁶ C. I. L. VIII, 15259; 14816; cf. ibid. 14447; fragment dedicated to 'Fortuna Redux of Alexander' and probably of Mamaea; cf. also Rev. Arch. vol. 33 (1898), p. 435, n. 87, a mutilated Algerian inscription erected because of the preservation and prosperity of Alexander, Mamaea, and the divine house.

A g(usti) | nostri et castrorum et senatus | et patriae totiusque
odmus di | vinae splendidissimus ordo | Siccensium devotus
numi | ni maiestatique eorum d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecu-
nia) p(ublica).

Probably the same occasion suggested the erection of a tiny shrine, found at Rome on the Esquiline hill, to Fortune, Apollo, and Victory. It is dedicated by praetorian soldiers 'for the prosperity' of the Emperor and 'Julia Mamaea, most holy Augusta.'¹ Inscriptions to *Juppiter Optimus Maximus Conservator* probably allude to the escape of Mamaea and of Alexander from danger in the Persian war. They are found at Zara,² Numidia, and on an altar at Lambaesis (C. I. L. VIII, 2620):

J(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | conservatori | imp(eratoris)
Caes(aris) M. Aureli Se | veri Alexandri invic | ti Pii Felicis
Aug(usti) et Iuliae | Mamaeae matris [domini nostri] |
Aug(usti) totiusque domus divinae | L. Marius Crescenti |
anus. q(uaestor) aedil(is) duumvira(lis) | devot(us) numini
eorum a | ram, quam devovit, sua | pecunia posuit.

The inscription on a tablet at Aquincum, Pannonia, indicates that it was dedicated in 233, because the Emperor and Mamaea had returned safely from their expedition (C. I. L. III, 3427):

Herculi Aug(usto) s(acrum) | ob salutem et re | ditum
d(omini) n(ostri) imp(eratoris) S(everi) | Al[e]x[andr]i
P(ii) F(elicis) Aug(usti) | et Iuliae Mamaeae | Augustae matris |
Aug(usti) n(ostri) et castrorum | G. Iul(ius) Caninus pr(ae-
fectus) | leg(ionis) II Ad(iutricis) p(iae) f(idelis) Se | ver-
ianae ex | trec[ena]rio | v(otum) [s(ol)vit] | l(ibens) m(erito)
| Maximo et Paterno | consulibus.

Both of these last inscriptions were dedicated in fulfilment of vows made for the success of the expedition.

Two other inscriptions are preserved which were set up

¹ C. I. L. VI, 2831; at the top are reliefs of Fortuna, Apollo, and Victoria.

² C. I. L. VIII, 4511.

in the time of the expedition; the first indicates that in 232 A. D., at the silver mines of Municipium Domau,¹ in Dalmatia, statues were erected to Alexander and to Mamaea by the municipal senate through the procurator Julius Tacitanus. The dedication on the pedestal of Mamaea's statue is as follows (C. I. L. III, 8360):

[*Iuliae Ma*]maeae Aug(ustae) | *matri* imp(eratoris) | *Caes-*
(aris) M. Aur(eli) | *Seve[ri]* Alexa[n]n[*dr*i] | [*P*]ii [*Fel*](icis)
[*in*] | *v[ic](ti)* Aug(usti) e[*t*] | [*castr*(orum)] [e]t *senat(us)* | *ac*
patr(iae) ordo | *Mun(icipii)* Domau | *d(ecurionum)* *d(ecreto)*
p(ublice) *p(osuit)*, *dedicante* | *Iul. Tacitano* | *v(iro)* *e(gregio)*
proc(uratore) Aug(usti) [*nostri*] | *devotissimo* | *numini* *eorum*.

The second records a dedication of statues at Antioe, Egypt, to 'the Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Pius Felix Augustus and to Julia Mamaea Augusta, his mother and mother of the invincible camp, for their victory and immortality and that of their whole house,' etc.²

There are no coins which mention Mamaea directly in connection with this triumph, though it seems probable that coins referring to public rejoicing and bearing names of both Alexander and his mother were struck in honor of the fortunate conclusion of this war. The legend on the face is IMP ALEXANDER PIUS AUGUSTUS, IULIA MAMAEA AUGUSTA; with this are portraits of Alexander and Mamaea. The presence of a Victory, or the epithet Pius in Alexander's title makes reference to the time of the Persian war.³ Of these legends and designs the most important are:

FELICITAS PERPETUA AUG: Mamaea seated, and before her two women, one presenting a globe, the other seen full face;

¹ Zvornik. Date given by C. I. L. III, 8359, 232 A. D.

² C. I. G. 4705.

³ Portraits on coins of Alexander and Mamaea afford no clue to their date. The word Pius as an epithet of Alexander appears first on a dated coin of 230 A. D. but is not common until the coins of 232, Cohen, vol. 4, p. 439, n. 382.

behind Mamaea, Felicitas.¹ The design is repeated on a coin in honor of Mamaea alone. The idea expressed is that the Empress has brought about the perpetual good fortune of the Empire.

FELICITAS TEMPORUM: Alexander seated in a curule chair holds a globe and book; he is crowned by a palm bearing Victory; before him stands Felicitas, on the left a woman.²

TEMPORUM FELICITAS: Alexander seated on a globe spangled with stars rests his right hand on the circle of the year, on which the four seasons are represented: he is crowned by a Victory holding a palm; before him Jupiter leaning on his sceptre gazes at him.³ A Thracian coin of Mamaea has also reference to a victory, with the design of an altar over which hovers an eagle holding a crown in its beak; on either side a standard.⁴

Lampridius relates that after Alexander had celebrated Persian Games, and had made a generous donative to the people, he imitated his predecessors, the Antonines, by choosing a certain number of children of both sexes to be supported in his mother's name and to be called *Puellae Mamaeanae* and *Pueri Mamasani*.⁵ There is no reason to doubt this statement, though we find no direct confirmation of it in coins and inscriptions. It is highly probable that

¹ Cohen, vol. 4, p. 481, n. 3. *Felicitas Perpetua*, with the same design occurs on coins of Mamaea, Cohen, vol. 4, p. 492. This legend was introduced on coins of Mamaea and Alexander.

² Ibid. n. 5-8; this design is new, the legend is found on coins of Hadrian, Cohen, vol. 2, p. 225.

³ Ibid. n. 22. A globe spangled with stars is found on coins of Commodus, Cohen, vol. 3, p. 322.

⁴ Cohen, vol. 4, p. 500, n. 104; compare a coin of Alexander *Imp. Alexander Pius Aug. (R.) Victoria Augusti*. Alexander in military dress brandishing a spear; he is followed by a soldier and preceded by a Victory with wreath and palm; on the ground before him a seated captive, Cohen, vol. 4, p. 460, n. 573.

⁵ Lampridius, *Alex.* 57, 7.

Alexander continued in some way the system of alimentation, established by Trajan. One coin refers to some action of this kind. The legend on the face is IULIA MAMAEA AUGUSTA, with her portrait, on the reverse, ABUNDANTIA TEMPORUM, with Severus Alexander seated, turning the contents of a cornucopia before four little children. He is between Mamaea, who holds a patera, and Minerva, who stands leaning upon her spear.¹ It is evident that here Mamaea assists her son in distributing alms to children. The coins having reference to the bounty of Antoninus Pius have the legend PUELLÆ FAUSTINIANÆ, with a design representing Antoninus as distributing his gift in the presence of some female figures.² The resemblance between the two designs makes it probable that they refer to similar events. The death of Alexander and subsequent execration of his memory, which prevented the execution of his plan, are a sufficient explanation of the fact that the *Pueri Mamaeani* are nowhere mentioned in inscriptions.

One inscription only in honor of Mamaea has a date later than the conclusion of the Persian war. It is on a tablet dedicated to 'Julia Mamaea Augusta, mother of our Augustus and of the camp, of the senate and of her country,' by M. Titius Rufus, a soldier of the legion *septima Gemina Severiana Alexandriana*,³ stationed in Spain.

When the ceremonies attending the triumph were barely finished the imminence of the danger from the Germans in the north forced Alexander and Mamaea again to take the field in person.⁴ In 234, they left Rome for the last time. A coin referring to this event, bears the legend IMPERATOR

¹ Cohen, vol. 4, p. 489, n. 1.

² Cohen, vol. 2, p. 433, n. 261 ff. In the reliefs of the Villa Albani, Faustina and Lucilla present the gift to the children, Helbig, Guide to Class. Antiq. in Rome, vol. 2, p. 736-7.

³ C. I. L. II, 2664, Leon, 234 A. D.

⁴ Herodian, 6, 7.

ALEXANDER PIUS AUGUSTUS IULIA MAMAEA AUGUSTA MATER AUGUSTI with their portraits and on the reverse PROPECTIO AUGUSTI, and as design, Alexander equipped and starting for war.¹

Several weeks consumed in fruitless negotiations near Moguntiacum,² are marked for Mamaea by a single coin. The face has the usual legends and portraits of Mamaea and her son, the reverse a legend giving the date, corresponding to 235 A. D., PONTIFEX MAXIMUS TRIBUNICIAE POTESTATIS XIII COS III P P, and a bridge of boats behind which the Rhine is lying; Alexander crosses the bridge preceded by a Victory, who carries a wreath, and followed by several soldiers, one bearing the legion eagle.³ Near this bridge in the Gallic village of Sicilia,⁴ early in March 235, A. D., Mamaea's career ended. The rumor that Alexander was about to gratify his mother's wish by leaving Gaul and returning to Syria inflamed the legions,⁵ who already blamed Mamaea for her son's weakness and hated her because she did not bribe them into good nature.

At this crisis Maximin, an officer of the Pannonian troops, was thrust forward by his soldiers as Alexander's rival. The legionaries with little hesitation renounced allegiance to their weak Emperor and flocked to the standards of the savage Thracian.⁶ Every effort of Mamaea⁷ and of Alexander failed to regain their support. At last

¹ Cohen, vol. 4, p. 484, n. 19; Eckhel, vol. 7, p. 377; assigned to this date because *Pius* is not found in the title of the Emperor in coins with *Trib. Pot. X*.

² Herodian, 6, 7, 6-9; Orosius, 7, 18, 8; Hieronymus; a. Abr. 2251; Syncellus, Chron. p. 359; Chron. Pasch. p. 268.

³ Cohen, vol. 4, p. 483, n. 16; coins in honor of Alexander p. 446. It is possible that this coin suggested Herodian's description (6, 7, 6) of the bridge of boats over the Rhine.

⁴ Lampridius, Alex. 59, 6.

⁵ Capitolinus, Maxim. 7, 5.

⁶ Herodian, 6, 8; Capitolinus, Maxim. 7.

⁷ Cf. Zosimus, 1, 13, 1-5.

the Empress and her son with a few officers who still remained faithful to them took refuge in the imperial pavilion, where Maximin's centurions found them and put them to death. Herodian says that Mamaea's last moments were embittered by the reproaches of her son, who though he clung to her like a little child, charged her with being the sole cause of his misfortunes.¹

Lampridius says that Mamaea and Alexander were immediately avenged by the legions which had suffered under his discipline; that the senate and people erected a cenotaph in Gaul, and a sepulchre in Rome,² and instituted games and festivals in their honor.³ The *Fasti* prove that circus games were exhibited on Alexander's birthday more than a century after his death,⁴ and as Alexander and his mother are usually mentioned together, the games may well have been in honor of both. But these celebrations were instituted at a later date than the reign of Maximin, for the memory of Alexander and Mamaea was certainly execrated, as their names are mutilated, or erased, in almost all of their inscriptions. In the reign of Gallienus,⁵ Alexander was deified, and it is more probable that these memorials owed their origin to that Emperor rather than to the senate and people. It is not known where Mamaea and Alexander were buried.

Mamaea's title was directly adapted from that of Julia Domna. She received the name *Augusta*, immediately after

¹ Herodian, 6, 9, 6. Date 234 A. D. given by Schiller (*Rom. Kais.*, vol. 1, p. 783) seems a misprint for 235; cf. Clinton, *Fasti Rom.*, vol. 1, p. 248.

² The effigies on the so-called "sarcophagus of Alexander and Mamaea" in the Capitoline museum represent a husband and wife; Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*, 2, 3, 111.

³ Lampridius, *Alex.* 63.

⁴ *Fasti* of Philocalus, date 354 A. D., C. I. L. I., pp. 274; 301.

⁵ Cohen, vol. 4, p. 463, n. 957-959; Eckhel, vol. 7, p. 280; vol. 8, p. 471.

her son became Emperor. As she is called *mater Augusti et castrorum* on an inscription made before Maesa's death,¹ and her name seldom appears without this title, it is probable that she received it also when she became Augusta. This was soon amplified into *mater Augusti et castrorum et senatus atque patriae*, which appears on dated inscriptions from the year 227 A. D. That this was her official title is proved by the fact that the Arval Brothers use it in their public petitions for the welfare of the imperial house.² A single inscription from Carthagera giving her a still more comprehensive title, *mater domini nostri sanctissimi imperatoris Severi Alexandri Pii Felicis Augusti et castrorum et senatus et patriae, et universi generis humani*,³ should be considered, probably, as attributing to the Empress the honors of Cybele.

Mamaea's portraits on coins represent her as a woman of middle age, with strong, rather heavy features, of a decidedly Oriental cast. She usually wears the diadem. Idealized portraits of her with her son are found on gems in the Vienna and Berlin collections. Aside from these there is no single noteworthy portrait of Mamaea, though there are extant several busts of this Empress.⁴

In spite of the discontent of individuals, inscriptions make it evident that Mamaea had the support of the army during her administration. Twenty-three of the fifty-three extant inscriptions containing her name were erected by soldiers, eight by soldiers of the imperial body-guard and the city police. One only records a duty performed by a magistrate though Alexander is credited with regulating this matter. Fifteen dedications were made by municipalities or their magistrates, or by individuals employed in the provincial administration.

¹ C. I. L. VI, 2832.

² C. I. L. VI, 2108.

³ C. I. L. II, 3413.

⁴ Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikon.* 2, 3, p. 111.

Mamaea's coins, are less varied and less numerous than those of Julia Domna, and yet give valuable evidence concerning her position in the state. She, as well as Caracalla's mother, was under the patronage of Fortuna Redux,¹ guardian of imperial journeys. She is represented as having an interest in the revenues of the Empire, by the legends ANNONA AUG² and AEQUITAS PUBLICA,³ with the usual design of three Monetae. She was directly concerned, too, in her son's fifth distribution of money among the people,⁴ though she is not represented as distributing a largess on her own account. More important than these evidences of her power are the large number of coins, bearing her name with her son's, which represent her as sharing or directing much of the Emperor's activity.

Her coins make but slight allusion to her personal characteristics. They have the usual designs and legends, with Pietas, Pudicitia, and Fecunditas, but with a variation which gives a certain emphasis to the qualities as peculiar to Mamaea, for they present PIETAS AUGUSTAE,⁵ PUDICITIA AUGUSTAE,⁶ and FECUNDITAS AUGUSTAE.⁷

Allusions to the worship of the Emperor in Mamaea's inscriptions and coins are of a general character, indicating the combined worship of Alexander and his mother. The phrase *numini maiestatique eorum devotus* is present in three African inscriptions.* The phrase, *numini eorum devotus*

¹ Cohen, vol. 4, p. 490 f., n. 30; C. I. L. VIII, 15846; 14447.

² Ibid. n. 3.

³ Ibid. n. 2.

⁴ Cohen, vol. 8, p. 402.

⁵ Cohen, vol. 4, p. 495, n. 48 f; this was introduced on Mamaea's coins; *Pietas Aug.*, introduced on coins of Matidia, Cohen, vol. 2, p. 102.

⁶ Ibid., vol. 4, p. 495, n. 54; this was introduced on Mamaea's coins; *Pudicitia*, introduced on Faustina's coins, Cohen, vol. 3, p. 151.

⁷ Ibid., vol. 4, p. 490, n. 5; this was introduced on coins of Faustina the younger, Cohen, vol. 3, p. 143, n. 93; p. 144, n. 103.

* C. I. L. VIII, 1406, 4511, 15846.

occurs four times in dedications made by individuals, cities, or cohorts.¹ The phrase *devota numini eius*,² once. The *procurator Augusti* at Zvornik signs himself *devotissimus numini eorum*.³ Their *domus divina* is mentioned ten times.⁴ As the word Augustus had lost its original force and had crystallized into a mere title, other epithets were applied to indicate that members of the imperial family were more than mortal. Alexander and members of his family have several times the epithet *sanctissimus*. Maesa and Mamaea are called *sanctissimae*⁵ by the *princeps* of Castra Perigrinorum, and Mamaea is called *sanctissima*⁶ by the praetorians of Cotini, at Rome.⁷

An offering was made directly to Mamaea's divine will in England, in these terms (C. I. L. VII, 319):

Deabus matribus tramarinis|et n(umini) imp(eratoris)
Alexandri Aug(usti) et |Iul(iae) Mam|meae matr(is) Aug-
(usti) n(ostris) et castrorum to|ti[que] domui|divineae
(sic)|. atio mr

Prayer 'for the immortality' of mother and son was made in Antioch,⁸ Egypt, and an offering is dedicated at Lambaesis, *aeternitati Alexandri et Mamaeae matris Augusti*.⁹

Coins add little to the information which inscriptions give with reference to Mamaea's relation to the worship to

¹ C. I. L. III, 3639; VI, 3075; VIII, 2620; X, 7478.

² C. I. L. II, 3393.

³ C. I. L. III, 8360.

⁴ C. I. L. VI, 2108; 2799; VII, 319; VIII, 2620, 8203, 15846; XII, 144; XIV, 125; Rev. Arch., vol. 33 (1898), p. 435, n. 87 and vol. 34 (1899), p. 315.

⁵ Dessau, Inscript. Lat. Select., vol. 1, n. 484.

⁶ *Sancta* an epithet of many goddesses, Fortuna Conservatrix C. I. L. VII, 954; Fortuna, VII, 423; Minerva, VII, 1034; Proserpina, II, 461; Salus Dea, II, 5138; Diana, III, 1418; Mater Deum, VIII, 8203; Virtus, VIII, 9026; Venus Proba, X, 3692 &c.

⁷ C. I. L. VI, 2831.

⁸ C. I. G. 4705.

⁹ C. I. L. VIII, 18079.

the imperial house. They show that Mamaea and Alexander received divine honors in connection with the house of Severus in Smyrna, neocoros for the third time under Caracalla,¹ and at Sardis, neocoros for the second time under the same Emperor.² One coin represents Mamaea as a divinity, a sort of Panthea, combining characteristics of many goddesses. The legend on the face is IULIA MAMAEA AUGUSTA with Mamaea's portrait; she wears a diadem at the top of which are two little wings or flames; the crescent is about her neck; horns of plenty in her right arm and left hand; the right hand holds an apple or globe.³ The reverse with the legend FELICITAS PERPETUA has been already described; it also represents Mamaea as receiving worship. The legend JUNO AUGUSTAE,⁴ which occurs only on Mamaea's coins, alludes to her guardian divinity.

Inscriptions present dedications to several divinities: *Asclepio*⁵ and *Deo Sancto Asclepio*⁶ are found on an altar and a tablet erected at Rome; *Deo Aeterno*,⁷ on a tablet in Pannonia; *Deo Sancto Melagbel*,⁸ on a tablet in Dacia; *Deabus Matribus Transmarinis*,⁹ on a tablet in England; *Fortunae, Apollini, Victoriae*,¹⁰ on a small shrine in Rome; *Fortunae Reduci*,¹¹ on tablets, and *Invicto Herculi*,¹² on a base in Africa; *Herculi Augusto*,¹³ on a tablet in Pannonia; *Iunoni Reginae, Minervae, Saluti Publicae*,¹⁴ on an Arval inscription at Rome; *Minervae Augustae*, in Africa;¹⁵ *Iovi Optimo Maximo Conservatori Alexandri et Mamaeae*¹⁶ on altars; *Iovi Optimo Maximo, Marti Propagnatori, Victoriae*,¹⁷

¹ Krause, Neocoros p. 50.

² Ibid. p. 51.

³ Cohen, vol. 4, p. 491, n. 15; 16; Eckhel, vol. 7, p. 287.

⁴ Ibid. n. 32-34.

⁵ C. I. L. VI, 2799.

⁶ Ibid. 13.

⁷ C. I. L. III, 3327.

⁸ Ibid. 7955.

⁹ C. I. L. VII, 319.

¹⁰ C. I. L. VI, 2831.

¹¹ C. I. L. VIII, 15846; 14447.

¹² Ibid. 14682.

¹³ C. I. L. III, 3427.

¹⁴ C. I. L. VI, 2108.

¹⁵ Rev. Arch., vol. 40 (1902), p. 140, n. 11.

¹⁶ C. I. L. VIII, 2620; 4511.

¹⁷ Rev. Arch., vol. 34 (1890), p. 315.

on a column in Germany; *Matri Deum Magnae Idaeae*,¹ on a tablet, and *Victoriis Augustis Alexandri et Mamaeae*,² on a building in Africa, and Διὶ Ἡλίῳ | μεγάλῳ Σεράπιδι καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς on a pedestal from Ostia.³ Four times a *Genius* is the object of the dedication; *Genio centuriae Coeli Arianti*,⁴ and *Genio Sancto Castrorum Perigrinorum*⁵ at Rome, *Genio Stationis*⁶ in the Poenine Alps, and Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ⁷ in Egypt.

Few goddesses are represented on the reverse of Mamaea's coins, and in these both design and legend are copied from the coins of her predecessors. Several of these designs have direct reference to Mamaea's watchful care over her son, for the divinity is represented as protecting an infant. Juno Augustae⁸ holds an infant, Venus Felix⁹ and Venus Genetrix⁹ are each accompanied by Cupid. Fecunditas Augustae¹⁰ also has a child as companion. The goddesses mentioned are Juno,¹¹ Juno Conservatrix,¹² Venus Felix,¹³ Venus Genetrix,⁹ Venus Victrix¹⁴ and Vesta.¹⁵ The last three legends and designs seem to have been borrowed directly from Julia Domna. SALUS AUGUST¹⁶ appears also,

¹ C. I. L. VIII, 8203.

² Ibid. 15259.

³ I. G. Sic. et Ital. 914, l. 3-4.

⁴ C. I. L. VI, 223.

⁵ Dessau, Ins. Lat. Selec., vol. 1, n. 484.

⁶ C. I. L. XII, 144.

⁷ C. I. G. 4705.

⁸ Cohen, vol. 4, p. 493, n. 32-34.

⁹ Ibid. n. 59-74. This occurs on Lucilla's coins, Cohen, vol. 3, p. 222.

¹⁰ Ibid. n. 5.

¹¹ Ibid. n. 31. This is found on coins of Faustina Junior, Cohen, vol. 3, p. 146.

¹² Ibid. n. 35. This is found on coins of Julia Domna, Cohen, vol. 4, p. 113, n. 92.

¹³ Ibid. n. 59-70.

¹⁴ Ibid. n. 75-89. This is found on coins of Faustina Junior and of Lucilla, Cohen, vol. 3, p. 222.

¹⁵ Ibid. n. 80-90. This is found on coins of Iulia Titi f., Cohen, vol. 1, p. 467, n. 15.

¹⁶ Ibid. n. 56. This is found on coins of Livia, Cohen, vol. 1, p. 171, and Iulia Titi f., ibid. p. 466.

a legend which had been stamped before Mamaea's time only on coins of Livia and of Julia, daughter of Titus. Mamaea's coins struck in the colonies present an unusual variety of designs referring to divinities.¹

Coins and inscriptions, therefore, give no support to Eusebius's description of Mamaea as 'a most religious woman, if ever there was one;'² for no large number of inscriptions record prayer, nor is any god mentioned on coins or inscriptions with sufficient frequency to indicate that some particular divinity was preferred by her as an object of worship. Neither is there any evidence to support the tradition that Mamaea and her son abandoned the national religion for Christianity; the types of their coins, on the contrary, would indicate that they remained pagans.³ Their inscriptions proved that they were not so cordially supported by priests of the national religion as Severus and his family had been. This was due in part to the reaction succeeding the orgies of Elagabalus, which manifested itself in a general indifference, and in part to the character of the Emperor and his mother, who showed their interest in all religions but devoted themselves to none.

As in the histories of their times and on coins and inscriptions, so in later Greek and Roman annals, Mamaea's name is linked with that of her son, but from the time of Constantine we have no longer 'Mamaea, mother of our lord Alexander,' but 'Alexander, son of Mamaea.'⁴ Lampridius calls him Alexander Mamaeae,⁵ to distinguish him from the great Macedonian; Vopiscus, in Aurelian and Carus, includes 'Alexander, son of Mamaea,' in his brief

¹ Cohen, vol. 4, p. 498, ff.

² Eusebius, Hist. Ecc., 6, 31.

³ Alexander, *Sacerdos Urbis*, Cohen, vol. 4, p. 455; Alexander and Mamaea sacrifice to *Roma Aeterna*, Cohen, vol. 4, p. 454.

⁴ The name of Mamaea, is usually written in the Genitive case without *filii* or *viŕis*.

⁵ Lampridius, Alex. 5, 2.

list of good Emperors;¹ Eusebius in his *Chronicon*, followed by Hieronymus, Prosper Aquitanus, Cassiodorus, Syncellus, Cedrenus, Glycas, the Paschal Chronicle, and several later compilations,² names the Emperor 'Alexander, son of Mamaea.' Several of the annalists repeat Jerome's comment on the year 234, *Alexander in matrem Mameam unice pius fuit, et ob id omnibus amabilis.*³ Zonaras in his Epitome, calls him 'Alexander, son of Mamaea,' Ammianus Marcellinus mentions the death of Alexander and Mamaea, as an instance of the ease with which a Roman Emperor could be put out of the way.⁴ Agathias gives the date of the war with Ardeshir, 'In the time of Alexander, Mamaea's son.' In contrast to all of these Julian, the Emperor, dismisses Alexander from the feast of the Emperors with this sneer:

"The lad of Emesa was driven far from the sacred enclosure. Then Silenus mocking at Alexander the Syrian who sat in the lowest rank bewailing his fortune, added: 'Thou fool, thou weakling! Such as thou wast thou daredst not govern for thy self but gavest thy wealth to thy mother and couldst not be persuaded that it was much better to lavish it on friends than to hoard it.' 'But I,' said justice, 'shall deliver over to punishment all who were accessory to these things,' and so the lad was dismissed.'"⁵

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¹ Vopiscus, Aurelian, 42, 4; Carus, 3, 4.

² Leo, the scribe, Suidas &c.

³ Hieronymus, Chron. a. Abr. 2248, Eutropius, 8, 23.

⁴ Ammian. Marcell. 26, 6, 20.

⁵ Agathias, 2, 26; 4, 24.

⁶ εἶτα τὸ ἐκ τῆς Ἑμέσης παιδάριον πόρρω που τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπηλάνετο περιβόλων. ὁ γε μὴν Σύρος Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν ἐσχάτοις που καθῆστο τὴν αὐτοῦ συμφορὰν ποτινώμενος. καὶ ὁ Σειληνὸς ἐπισκόπων αὐτὸν ἐπέειπεν "ὦ μῶρε καὶ μέγα νῆπιε, τηλικούτος ὦν οὐκ αὐτὸς ἤρχες τῶν σεαυτοῦ τὰ χρήματα δὲ ἐδίδοις τῇ μητρὶ καὶ οὐκ ἐπέισθης ὅσω κρείττον ἀναλίσκειν ἦν αὐτὰ τοῖς φίλοις ἢ θησαυρίζειν." "Ἄλλ' ἐγωγε", εἶπεν ἡ Δίκη, "πάντας αὐτοὺς ὅσοι μεταίτιοι γεγόνασι τοῦτων κολασθησόμενοις παραδώσω." καὶ οὕτως ἀνείθη τὸ μεϊράκιον. Julian, *Convivium*, p. 313.

THE ATTITUDE OF DIO CASSIUS TOWARD EPIGRAPHIC SOURCES.

An interesting fact occasionally noted in connection with the literary method of the Roman historians is the neglect with which they are wont to treat original sources of a monumental character. Such a tendency, of course, comports ill with the reverence for first-hand material which holds sway at the present time. The indifferent attitude assumed by the writers of the Empire toward the testimony of inscriptions has been emphasized especially by Hermann Peter.¹ After remarking justly on the value of the information that the chiselled *Fasti*, *Elogia*, *Senatus Consulta* offered to the diligent investigator, Peter concludes: 'Under the Emperors no one cared any longer to hearken to the language spoken by marble and bronze.' To Suetonius alone does he accord any activity in this direction.

Although we accept the validity of Peter's conclusions in general, it is, nevertheless, no worthless task to endeavor to form a precise estimate of the individual author in terms of his use or neglect of inscriptional evidence. This has been accomplished in the case of one author, Suetonius.² The present inquiry extends the investigation to the *Historia Romana* of Dio Cassius, an indispensable source for the history of the late Republic and the early Empire. For, strangely enough, in the turmoil of round condemnation and warm defence to which the last sixty years have subjected the *Historia Romana*, testing the work in the light of

¹ *Die Geschichtliche Litteratur über die Römische Kaiserzeit bis Theodosius I und ihre Quellen*, Leipzig, 1897, vol. 1, pp. 218-222; 257-271.

² W. Dennison, *The Epigraphic Sources of the Writings of Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus*, New York, 1898.

its probable and possible literary sources, but scant notice has been taken of Dio's relation to epigraphic sources. No one has accurately determined the extent to which he regarded or disregarded the inscriptional evidence accessible to him. The opinions that have been expressed have been mostly limited to a consideration of Dio's use of the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. His general attitude was first summed up by Egger.¹ The conclusions of this scholar are negative, though cautiously expressed; his treatment did not pretend to be exhaustive. It is not enough merely to take account of discrepancies that exist between the statements of Dio and those of the stones, while other indications are left out of the question.

The natural starting-point for this investigation readily suggests itself in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. Did Dio use this 'queen of inscriptions,' this autobiography of Augustus which could have furnished such invaluable assistance? If we are able to establish the procedure of our author in such a notable instance, we shall obtain a clue to his method in general and may draw our conclusion accordingly.

The consensus of opinion expressed on this subject has denied to Dio recourse to the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. Mommsen² has tacitly, Egger,³ Bergk,⁴ and Beck,⁵ have expressly declared for this negative view. On the other hand, we should not forget that Wilmans,⁶ though on the

¹ *Examen critique des historiens anciens de la vie et du règne d'Auguste*, Paris, 1844, p. 297: "En général Dion paraît avoir peu songé à ces témoins immuables de la chronologie qui nous ont aussi conservé des faits historiques d'une haute importance."

² Th. Mommsen, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti iterum rec.* p. 9 of Introduction.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 297.

⁴ Th. Bergk, *Augusti rerum a se gestarum index*, Göttingen, 1873, p. 8.

⁵ *Mnemosyne*, vol. 25 (1897), p. 359.

⁶ R. Wilmans, *De fontibus et auctoritate Dionis Cassii*, Berlin, 1835, pp. 22-23.

basis of a superficial comparison, insisted that Dio had used the inscription extensively. More recently, Haupt¹ was so far uninfluenced by the generally-accepted view as to suggest that in one instance—hereafter to be noted—Dio quotes from memory a section of the inscription. Consequently, as the chance for dispute exists, it would be wise to make nothing less than a complete comparison of the text of the inscription and the corresponding passages in the historian a basis for judgment. Such an investigation only is likely to decide the matter beyond the possibility of a doubt.

We naturally find but slight contact between the text of Dio and those numerous sections of the Monumentum Ancyranum that sum up, without date or specific detail, events extending over several years or events of a similar character that occurred at different times during the life of Augustus. The reason is apparent. The nature of Dio's narrative demanded that he treat as particular instances, under the proper consulships, the victories over foreign peoples, games celebrated, and buildings erected which the inscription briefly enumerates. In such cases, therefore, the inscription had nothing to offer. True, the information as to the total number of occasions on which Augustus was saluted *imperator*, (twenty-one) with the received text of Dio Cassius (52, 41, 3-4),² might have been derived from the Monumentum (1, 21-22). That this was actually the case, however, there is not the slightest proof even if we grant that neither Tacitus (Ann. 1, 9)³ nor any other known writer can be made to stand sponsor for the passage. Yet popular tradi-

¹ Philologus, vol. 43 (1834), p. 698.

² So after Sturz, Bekker, Dindorf, Meibner, and Boissevain.

³ It is uncertain whether Dio used Tacitus directly; cf. Haupt, Philol. vol. 44 (1885), p. 160. At all events, since Dio's statement concerning the number of the imperatorships is found in the chapters which deal with the early Principate—a period not included in the Annals—the passage in Tacitus can scarcely have supplied his information.

tion would preserve such a piece of information. The passage in Dio seems to be an off-hand, parenthetical explanation, thrown in on the spur of the moment without thought of literary verification.

There are but two cases in which the narrative of Dio is conspicuously at variance with these summarizing sections of the inscription. (1) Dio assigns to Augustus three ovations, the first in the year 40 B. C., the second in 36, the third in 20 (cf. Dio, 48, 31, 3; 49, 15, 1; 54, 8, 3; M. A. 1, 21 *Bis ovans triumphavi, tres egi curulis triumphos*). (2) Dio improves on the testimony of the inscription 2, 1-2 (*senatum ter legi*) by mentioning four occasions on which a *lectio* was held, viz. in 29 B. C. (52, 42, 1; 53, 1, 3); in 18 B. C. (54, 13, 1; 54, 14, 3); in 11 B. C. (54, 35, 1); and in 4 A. D. (55, 13, 3). In either of these cases Dio might have checked the testimony of his literary sources by recourse to the inscription.

It is evident that the sections of the inscription which treat of events in detail and specify dates, had most to contribute to Dio's work. It is in connection with these that we should expect his indebtedness to appear, if at all. There are in fact three cases in which a surface-examination reveals likeness more or less striking between the words of the inscription and the text of Dio. They are:

M. A. 2, 29-33.

1. [*Aram* *Fortuna reducti iuxta?*
aeldes *Honoris et Virtutis ad*
portam | [*Capenam pro reditu meo*
se] *natus* *consacravit, in qua*
ponti | [*fices et virgines Vestales*
anni] *versarium sacrificium fa-*
cere | [*iussi die, quo consulibus*
Q. Luc] *retio et* [*M. Vinuc*] *lo in*
urbem ex | [*Syria redi et diem*
Augustalt] *a ex* [*co*] *gnomine*
nost] *ro appellavit.*

Dio, 54, 10, 3.

ὧν οὐδὲν (i. e. honors) προσήκατο,
πλὴν Τύχῃ τ' ἐπαναγωγῆς, οὕτω γάρ
πως αὐτὴν ἐκάλεσαν, βωμῶν ἰδρυ-
θῆναι καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἢν ἀφιζοῖτο ἐν
τε ταῖς ἱερομηνίαις ἀριθμεῖσθαι καὶ
Αὐγουστάλια ὀνομάζεσθαι.

Dio himself seems to furnish the key to the explanation

of such resemblances in event, order, and phraseology as appear, by his reference to certain other honors which the senate had tried unsuccessfully to bestow upon the Princeps at this time. This knowledge was clearly derived from a source other than the inscription. It is likely that from this same source in which Dio found these other honors mentioned, he got the allusion to the altar and the attendant ceremonies decreed. The historians are much given to transcribing lists of honors voted, and surely any account that deemed it worth while to refer to the honors refused by Augustus, would not have failed to specify those which he accepted. The agreement in order of narration between the two accounts is due simply to the preservation by both of the original order fixed in the decree. This arrangement—with the most notable provision standing first—passed over in crystallized form into literary tradition.

Furthermore, there are two variations between the narratives. (1) The consuls of the year as they appear in the inscription are Quintus Lucretius and Marcus Vinucius. In the preceding sections of the chapter Dio relates at some length the election of Gaius Sentius and Quintus Lucretius, the eponymous consuls of the year. Vinucius was *suffectus* merely. This difference, however, cannot be greatly emphasized, owing to the fact that it is the practice of Dio to take into consideration the eponymous consuls only (cf. 43, 46, 6). (2) Dio does not mention the location of the altar nor the yearly sacrifice to be performed by the pontifices and Vestals. On each of these points the inscription is explicit. Dio merely remarks that the day of the return of Augustus was to be numbered among the *Feriae*.

M. A. 3, 19-21.

2. Consul ter | tium dec[is]imum
sexagenos denarios plebei, quae
tum frumentum publicum | ac-
cipieb[is]t, dedi; ea millia homi-
num paullo plura quam ducenta
fuerunt.

Dio, 55, 10, 1.

ὁ δὲ Αὐγουστος τὸ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ
αιτοδοτουμένου πλῆθος ἀρίστην ὄν
ἐς εἴκοσι μυριάδας κατέκλεισε, καὶ ὡς
γέ τινες λέγουσι, καθ' ἓνα ἐξήκοντα
δραχμας ἔδωκε.

The fifteenth chapter of the Monumentum Ancyranum catalogues the various acts of liberality performed by Augustus. Dio concluded that reference to several of these largesses fell within the scope of his work (cf. 44, 35, 3; 51, 21, 3; 53, 28, 1; 54, 29, 4). It would seem, therefore, that this convenient list should have commended itself especially. However, the one significant case of parallelism is presented by the passages just cited. In the amount of the donation the two narratives agree, as well as in the number of the beneficiaries—if we suppose that Dio is speaking in round numbers. A difference, however, lies in the fact that the historian alludes to an actual limiting of the number of those receiving free grain. The inscription merely states that the number at the time of the donation amounted to 200,000 and says nothing of an actual retrenchment. The words *ὡς γέ τινες λέγουσι* probably imply that several sources vouched for the number in question.¹ It is extremely unlikely that the Monumentum is to be included among these. In connection with the other donations mentioned by Dio (see references previously cited), his dependence on literary sources is reasonably clear at first reading. In a certain case, as we shall see, Dio uses a *ἕτεροι* (*λέγουσι*) as he does *τινές λέγουσι* here. In this passage *ἕτεροι* cannot contain reference to the inscription.

M. A. 5, 3-6.

3. Iuravit in mea verba tota |
Italia sponte sua et me be[lli],
quo vici ad Actum, ducem depo-
poscit. Iura | verunt in eadem
ver[ba provinci]ae Galliae His-
paniae Africa Sicilia Sar | dinia.

Dio, 50, 6, 4.

(τῷ μὲν Καίσαρι) ἡ τε οὖν Ἰταλία
καὶ ἡ Γαλατία τὸ τε Ἰβηρικὸν καὶ τὸ
Ἰλλυρικὸν καὶ Λίβνες οἱ τε ἐκ τοῦ
πρὶν Ῥωμαίζοντες πλὴν τῶν περὶ τὴν
Κυρήνην καὶ οἱ τοῦ βογοῦ τοῦ τε
Βόκχου γεγονότες Σαρδῶ τε καὶ
Σικελία καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι νῆσοι αἱ ταῖς
εἰρημέναις ἠπέιροις προσεχείς συνε-
μάχησαν.

¹ Owing to lack of data it is impossible to fix these. Hence we cannot be certain that Dio is not using the plural of a single author

Dio's enumeration of the provinces that ranged themselves on the side of Augustus in the conflict with Antony follows closely the list of the inscription. There is, however, a slight change in order (Σαρδῶ τε καὶ Σικελία), with some additions (τὸ Ἰλλυρικόν, Λίβυες οἱ κ.τ.λ., αἱ ἄλλαι νῆσοι). Obviously, his narrative shows the influence of sources more detailed than the inscriptional account. Hence it would be rash to infer that familiarity with the section quoted above governed even his order of presentation. Doubtless each account follows the natural sequence established in the enumeration of the Western Provinces and quite unconsciously observed. To Italy would properly be accorded first mention, then would follow the Gallic provinces as most immediately connected with Italy. As the tendency would be to name the provinces to the north of the Mediterranean before crossing in thought, Spain comes next in order of position and importance, then any other northern province before Africa. Lastly come the islands in a class by themselves. The mechanical observation of such fixed methods of enumeration, based on reasons of position or relative importance, is a practice common enough. I conclude, therefore, that the agreement in order between the two accounts does not presuppose close relationship.

These three instances seem to me the only data on the score of which one might be excusable in predicating the possibility that Dio used the original of the Monumentum Ancyranum. The other indications in which Wilmsan professed to find evidence that Dio had had extensive recourse to the inscription, no unprejudiced observer can now discern. For example, because Dio's pseudo-Philippic (45, 38, 2) affirms the boast of M. A. 1, 1-3 concerning the

in the loose manner frequent among the ancient historians. However, as in 44, 35, 3 we know that the *ἕτεροι* is used in good faith of several sources, the probability that *τινὲς* refers to works known to Dio but lost to us, is heightened.

prompt and generous action of the stripling Octavius in coming to the rescue of the beleaguered state with an army of his own, we are not to infer that Dio derived his knowledge of these facts from perusal of the inscription, even were it not apparent that the text expands materially the account of the Monumentum. Such events were common historical property.¹

Again, it is conceivable that Dio might have been aware that Octavius avenged the murder of his father (53, 4, 4; 56, 36, 2), in the restoration of public buildings scorned to usurp the deserts of others (56, 40, 5), even if he had not read M. A. 1, 10-12; 4, 2-4; 4, 9-10. These passages of the *Historia Romana* likewise occur in pseudo-speeches which are to a large extent Dio's own notion as to what it would have been appropriate for the speaker in question to say. It is time wasted to endeavor to trace in such common-places of historical information, occurring in rhetorical contexts, recourse to any definite author or monument—particularly so on the basis of such superficial and explicable parallelisms as those on which Wilmans founded his theory.

¹ As a matter of fact it was a real Philippic that gave Dio his cue in this passage; cf. Cic. Phil. 3, 3, 2 and Dio, 45, 38, 2. The direct use of Cicero's orations is one of the few facts that investigation of the sources of Dio has established; cf. Wilmans, *op. cit.* pp. 32-36; Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*. 2nd edition, vol. 1, p. 168; Fisher, *De fontibus et auctoritate Cassii Dionis in enarrandis a Cicerone post Caesaris mortem . . . habitis orationibus*, Lelpsic, 1870; Haupt, *Philol.* vol. 43 (1884), p. 688. The denial of this fact by Hugo Grohs, (*Der Wert des Geschichtswerkes des Cassius Dio als Quelle für die Geschichte der Jahre 49-44*, Züllichau, 1884) is due to an unwarranted application of the noxious One-Source Principle; cf. Grohs, *op. cit.* pp. 131-132. Dio was too fond of rhetorical flourish not to have been as familiar with the orations of Cicero as surface examination indicates.

The difficulties of the much-discussed passage¹ in which we find at once a contradiction of M. A. 3, 7-8 *plebei Romanas viritim HS trecenos numeravi ex testamento patris mei*), given on the authority of Augustus, as well as an affirmation thereof, vouched for by other writers, Haupt² sought to account for by suggesting that ὡς μὲν Ὀκταούσιος γράφει contains reference to the inscription, here quoted inaccurately from memory. Now, as will later appear, Dio does quote inscriptions from memory and his memory for figures is not infallible. Yet, to my mind, the present passage disproves, rather than proves, recourse to the inscription. For, granting, as we must, that thirty drachmas is an error in point of fact³ and that Dio has here misquoted some work of Augustus, it is hard to see how a hazy recollection of HS *trecenos* can have inspired the mistake.

If this explanation be accepted, we have two lapses of memory to account for—(1) 30 for 300; (2) drachmas for sesterces. Granting the possibility that Dio might have recalled *trecenos* as *triginta*, he certainly could not have forgotten that the inscription is written in Latin and expresses amounts of money in terms of Roman currency, not Greek; thirty *sesterces* would, of course, be too small a sum to demand consideration. Or, assuming that Dio was aware of the fact that the inscription deals in sesterces and that his *δραχμας τριάκοντα* is the result of the reduction of a given sum into a Greek denomination, the dilemma remains. A faulty memory might have distorted the *trecenos* of the inscription

¹ Dio, 44, 35, 3: καὶ τῇ πόλει τοὺς τε κήπους τοὺς παρὰ τὸν Τίβεριν καὶ δραχμάς, ὡς μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ Ὀκταούσιος γράφει, τριάκοντα, ὡς δὲ ἕτεροι πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἑκάστῳ σφῶν δοθῆναι κεκέλευεν.

² Philol. vol. 43 (1884), p. 698.

³ There is no justification for accusing Augustus of falsifying or exaggerating in this passage of the Monumentum as Wilmans, op. cit. p. 23, proposes. For a plausible explanation of Dio's error cf. Wölflin, Epigraphische Beiträge 1, Muenchner Sitzungs-Bericht, 1886, pp. 271-272.

into *ducenos*, or *quadringenos* or a kindred form, but never into the far-removed *centenos vicens* which would give rise to the thirty drachmas. Again, it would be passing strange had Dio written thirty drachmas merely from memory of the words of the inscription when there follows the correct sum vouched for by several sources.¹ Such decided conflict would have caused him to call into question any mental impression of the number given by the inscription. As a result, *τριάκοντα* would not have appeared at all. Some tangible and convincing source is involved in *ὡς Ὀκταβίους γράφει*, whether the words imply direct recourse to the autobiography of Augustus² or some similar work, or citation of Augustus in some other author. It is clear that the inscription cannot be included in the sources, comprised in the word *ἕτεροι*, which give the correct amount of the legacy. Dio has but just referred to one work of Octavius—*ἕτεροι* cannot contain another.

If we are able to find but three instances in which the text of Dio furnishes a parallel passage to the Monumentum Ancyranum worthy of discussion and if, as we have seen in each case, such likeness as exists may well be due to other causes than the use of the inscription by the historian, what shall we say after a glance at the other side of the account, the discrepancies between the two members of the comparison? Completely overshadowing the instances of agreement are the cases in which Dio has set at naught the testimony of the inscription and has thereby fallen into error. Often it is just where the inscription had most to offer that he has disdained its aid. A brief resumé of important differences is convincing. It has been previously noted that against the express authority of the Monumentum Ancyranum Dio mentions three separate ovations of Augustus and four

¹ Suetonius, Caesar 83; Plutarch, Brutus 20; Antony 16; Appianus, Civil Wars 2, 143; Nicolaus Damascenus, De vita Aug. 17.

² Suet. Aug. 2; 85; Plut. Brut. 41; Pliny, N. H. 2, 25.

occasions on which he held a *lectio senatus*.¹ Dio vouches for two instances in which addition was made to the ranks of the patricians (49, 43, 6, B. C. 33; 52, 42, 5, B. C. 29), the inscription speaks of but one increase (M. A. 2, 1). The accuracy of the statement made in Dio, 54, 10, 5, to the effect that in the year 19 B. C. Augustus received consular power for life, is not only unsupported by the inscription but tacitly impeached (cf. M. A. 2, 5-8; Mommsen, R. G. p. 27). Dio is in hopeless conflict with the sections of the inscription which commemorate the various bestowals of the *cura morum legumque* upon Augustus (M. A. Gr. 3, 11-21). For, indifferent to the explicit statement of the inscription that on three occasions (B. C. 19, 18, and 11) on which the *cura morum legumque* was offered to Augustus he refused the honor and carried out the reforms desired in his tribunical capacity, Dio makes him assume this ἀρχὴ παρὰ τὰ πάτρια ἔθῃ in B. C. 19 for five years (54, 10, 5), and again in B. C. 12 (54, 30, 1). Nowhere is the Monumentum more explicit than in its reference (2, 2-11) to the three census years, B. C. 28, 8, and A. D. 14. Dio assigns a false census to the year B. C. 11 (54, 35, 1), mentions under A. D. 4 (55, 13, 4-5) a census which included Italians of a certain property-rating, and ignores the real census of A. D. 14. The inscription dates the election of Augustus to the office of pontifex maximus under the year B. C. 12 (2, 23-28). Dio assigns this event to 13 B. C. (54, 27, 2). The narrative of the historian has gilded the silver arms presented by the Knights to Gaius and Lucius Caesar (cf. M. A. 3, 5-6; Dio, 55, 12, 1). The expedition into Arabia ended its march at Mariba (M. A. 5, 23-24); according to Dio (53, 29, 8) the Romans advanced no further than Athloulā or Adoulā, a town near Mariba. The royal Ariobarzanes, *regis Medorum Artabazi*

¹ The inscription possibly ignores *lectiones* held in B. C. 18 and A. D. 4; cf. Mommsen, *Res Gestae* 35-36; Gardthausen, *Augustus. und seine Zeit*, Leipzig, 1891, 1896, p. 916.

filius (M. A. 5, 29-30) is to Dio only a 'certain Mede' (55, 10a, 5).

In the face of the results which are thus obtained from a comparison of the narratives of Dio Cassius and the Monumentum Ancyranum, we need have no further hesitation in asserting that the two accounts are entirely independent. The consistent neglect with which Dio treats the testimony of the inscription is conspicuously apparent. We may now assure ourselves of what was reasonably clear in each isolated case of likeness—that the scanty agreements to be found are not to be explained on the assumption that Dio used the original of the Monumentum Ancyranum. The conclusions that we are privileged to base upon this fact are affected by two cardinal considerations: (1) Is the Monumentum Ancyranum the important relic which we have thus far assumed it to be—a copy of the original *Res Gestae*, the record which Suetonius¹ and Dio,² in almost the same words, tell us Augustus wrote for display on bronze tablets before his tomb? (2) If so, may we suppose that it existed *in situ* when Dio lived and wrote and that it was accessible to him?

The Augustan authorship of the Monumentum, cherished as a certainty by decades of scholarship, has of late been seriously impugned.³ The spirit of destructive criticism in philology reckes naught of the age or the respectability of a theory chosen for a victim. Yet the elaborate support accorded by Beck to his thesis in justice challenges some attention before reaffirming belief in the long-accepted view.

At the outset let us take account of what we actually know. Suetonius says that Augustus at his death left an autobiographical record of his deeds to be engraved on

¹ Aug. 101: *Indicem rerum a se gestarum quem vellet incidi in aeneis tabulis quae ante Mausoleum statuerentur.*

² 56, 33, 1: *ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ τὰ ἔργα ἃ ἐπραξε πάντα ἃ καὶ ἐς χαλκῆς στήλας πρὸς τῷ ἡρώῳ αὐτοῦ σταθείσας ἀναγράψηναι ἐκίλευσεν.*

³ J. W. Beck in *Mnemosyne*, vol. 25 (1897), p. 349 ff.; vol. 26 (1898), p. 237 ff.

bronze tablets and set up before his tomb. On the other hand, there is the great inscription of Ancyra, purporting to be a copy of an original engraved on two bronze stelae actually to be seen at Rome. The exemplar of Ancyra likewise deals with the chief events in the life of the Princeps. To all intents and purposes it was written by Augustus. The heading does not deem mention of this fact necessary when the subjoined inscription speaks so clearly for itself. How could an array of data offer more satisfactory coincidence? Suetonius looks to the prospective inscription of a record—the contents of which are of a certain character—on a specified material, for exhibition in a fixed place. The superscription of the Monumentum vouches for the existence at Rome of a record similar in subject matter. The condition of material is fulfilled and, for all any one can prove to the contrary, that of location.

Viewed in the large, the agreements are as striking as the differences are trivial. No discrepancy appears between the two characterizations of contents, if we remember that the *Index rerum a se gestarum* of Suetonius does not pretend to be anything but a catch-title, a convenient method of designation for everyday use, possibly coined by Augustus himself. The term *res gestae* can include the deeds of the Princeps in war, his building operations, and the *impensae* to which the inscription accords separate mention.¹ Each account sins in omitting reference to the *cursus honorum*. So, as they stand, each may refer to a record of the character of the Monumentum with equal accuracy and inaccuracy. The *in aeneis tabulis* of Suetonius becomes *in duabus aeneis pilis* in the inscription. Naturally Augustus did not know how many bronze tablets the engraving would be likely to require, hence specified no number. The author of the heading of the Monumentum, on the other hand, speaks from his knowledge of the original after execution of the

¹ Wölfflin, *Epig. Beiträge* 1, pp. 278–279.

plan had been consummated. Suetonius might have been as exact, had he not preferred to transfer to his own narrative the information on the subject found in his documentary source, unrevised by the results of a personal inspection of the actual inscription. In the same way *pilis* looks to the inscription as it stood *in situ* before the tomb. The suggestion of Augustus, *tabulis*, was tentative and it would be a matter of indifference to him if the executors of his wish chose oblong *stelae* instead of smaller attached tablets.¹

It is a cause of regret that the superscription of the Monumentum uses such general terms in designating the location of its original. Its *quae sunt Romae positae* may or may not include *ante Mausoleum*. Yet this very vagueness of mention may well be due to the fact that the original referred to was unique in character, the incidents attending its composition and location so well known, that more precise description of its situation was deemed superfluous. Had there been several *Indices rerum a se gestarum* displayed in the City, we must suppose that the composer of the superscription would have employed greater care in specifying the original reproduced by the Monumentum. The fact that he did not do so, is, therefore, proof that there was but the one great inscribed autobiography of Augustus, that which was to be seen before the Mausoleum.

So the chain of circumstantial evidence is reasonably complete. The two accounts, that given by Suetonius and the heading of the inscription of Ancyra, supplement each other so materially that something more than mere coincidence underlies the relation between them. That it is simply a chance original to which the superscription refers, we might believe if we did not possess the information furnished by Suetonius. As the matter stands, however, none but the gravest difficulties should cause the impartial

¹ Or *pilis* may be a Greekism. So Beck, *Mnemosyne*, vol. 26 (1898), p. 241, note 3.

student to refuse to acknowledge that Suetonius and the superscription of the Monumentum refer to one and the same original.

A proof of the correctness of the view ordinarily received, quite as conclusive as the surface indications just noted, has been found in the assumed indebtedness of Suetonius's *Vita Augusti* to the original of the Monumentum. If it is true that an author to whom access to the best original sources was so easy, whose high estimate of such helps is shown by the frequent use made of the letters, edicts, and speeches of the emperors, has thus far approved the authority of the original to which the Ancyran exemplar refers, the surpassing importance of the production is proved. We cannot doubt that this original was of true imperial authorship, in short that it was the *Index rerum a se gestarum*.

A perusal of the many points of contact between the Life of Augustus by Suetonius and the text of the inscription serves to show the futility of any effort to reduce to chance the existing resemblances. On the score of quantity and quality they speak authoritatively. According to Beck's own count there are thirty such instances. I am far from assuming that the Monumentum Ancyranum formed so important a source in the compilation of the Life of Augustus as some have believed.¹ For the bulk of his account Suetonius must have gone to purely literary sources. He did not always respect the authority of the inscription, for in several instances he has deviated from it.² Yet, that he was familiar with it and here and there made extracts from it *ab ipso aere* or more probably in copy,³ quite in contrast to Beck, I do not see how an "*aequus iudex*" can deny. It is vain to belittle the striking resemblances

¹ Nissen maintained that Suetonius had modeled his account upon the inscription; cf. *Rhein. Mus.* vol. 41 (1886), p. 497.

² See on this point, as well as on the relation in general of Suetonius to the Monumentum Ancyranum, Dennison, *op. cit.* The author's conclusions confirm the traditional view.

existing between chap. 43 of Suetonius and M. A. 4, 35; 4, 43-45; 4, 40-42. There is—in the first two instances at least—not even a question of contamination from a literary source. The trifling omissions or additions are easily explicable as due to the initiative of Suetonius.¹ Furthermore, the passages in Suetonius furnishing close parallels to the statements of the inscription occur in such close proximity as to preclude the plea of accident. In collecting material for a chapter to be devoted to the spectacles exhibited by Augustus, Suetonius, among other sources, availed himself of the unusually full information on the subject contained in the inscription. Quite in the spirit of ancient history-writing he has preserved closely the phraseology of the original in making his quotations. It has been pointed out elsewhere that the “close resemblances in the text of the historian to M. A. 4, 1-26 occur in two consecutive chapters Aug. 29 and 30,”² likewise that into one

¹ *Qui aut abessent aut non sufficerent*, added by Suetonius to M. A. 4, 35, are the two contingencies that would naturally suggest themselves as the reasons for the assumption by the Princeps of the celebration of the games. It would not have taxed the understanding of Suetonius to insert the explanation that would have presented itself to anyone conversant with the facts. Likewise, the omission of a detail so unessential as the dimensions of the tract excavated for the artificial lake (M. A. 4, 44-45), is surely pardonable. The only other important difference to be seen in the account of Suetonius is the change in order (transposition of *cavato solo* and the relative clause) which the omission of the *in longitudinem et seq. necessitates* and excuses. *Cavato solo*, pushed to the end of the sentence, is shorn of all logical connection. Hence the transposition of the phrase, leaving the relative clause most conveniently at the end. This arrangement offers a further advantage in that the clause can be joined directly to *solo* as antecedent. *Loco*, introduced in the inscription to avoid the ambiguity involved in connecting the clause with *Tiberim*, becomes forthwith unnecessary and is dropped. Thus we have in the changes introduced by Suetonius, indication that he had the words of the Monumentum exclusively in mind.

² Cf. Dennison op. cit. p. 43.

chapter, Aug. 21, Suetonius seems to have gathered various details connected with the relation of Augustus to foreign tribes that the Monumentum treats in consecutive text.¹ The various minor cases of correspondence which Beck explains as due to chance or to the fact that the idea in question must necessarily be expressed by a stock formula, cannot be disposed of in this summary fashion.² A single isolated instance we might brand as of no significance. The plea of accident or necessity, however, can be urged but weakly when we stop to consider the number of such cases exhibiting verbal similarity. Taken in connection with the undeniable tokens of relationship existing in at least two cases, together with the brief compass of the two productions, the inference is plain. One must needs approach the subject with a preconceived notion to be able to avoid the admission of the indebtedness of Suetonius to the original of the Monumentum Ancyranum.

Some of the difficulties which Beck sees and applies to suit the demands of his argument have been generally recognized. Yet the necessity of rejecting the imperial authorship of the Monumentum Ancyranum has not made itself felt. As to the force of the objections which he has for the first time raised, there is a chance for wide divergence of opinion. For example, surprise is expressed that an inscription of such importance as the Monumentum Ancyranum was preserved on the walls of an obscure temple in a remote provincial town and is not found repeated upon the

² We may add to the list of parallels Mon. 4, 53, Suet. Aug. 52. See convincing arguments from linguistic side presented by Wölflin, *Archiv. Lat. Lexicog.* vol. 13 (1903), pp. 193-199.

¹ The most important of these are: M. A. 5, 12-14 and Suet. 21 *nec ulli genti . . . bellum intulit*; M. A. 1, 21 and Suet. 22 *bis ovans ingressus . . . triumphos egit*; M. A. 2, 43, *cum . . . esset parata . . . paz*, and Suet. 22 *terra marique pace parata*; M. A. Gr. 4, 1-2 and Suet. 27 *triumviratum . . . administravit*; M. A. 5, 36-38 and Suet. 46 *Italiam . . . frequentavit*.

more famous shrines of Asia.¹ Rather, what more satisfactory indication of the authority and renown of the record could be desired than its reproduction at Ancyra? The fact that it penetrated thither is significant. Whether its presence be due to the initiative of the townspeople or whether copies were sent by the Senate to the cities of the provinces, there can be but one conclusion with reference to the inscription. The citizens of Ancyra would scarcely have chosen a chance original, a clumsy forgery perpetrated by some person more enthusiastic in his intention to glorify Augustus than effective in the execution of his purpose. On the other hand, its circulation would not have been publicly countenanced had it not possessed a valid claim to consideration. The existence of the fragment at Apollonia is additional proof of celebrity. How many of the monumental records that have come down to us have their importance attested by preservation in two different places?

It is true that neither Suetonius nor Dio after him vouches for the actual execution of the orders left by Augustus concerning the cutting and exhibition of his *Res Gestae*. *Quem vellet* says the one, *ἀ ἐκέλευσε* the other. There is no absolute proof that Tiberius respected the wishes of Augustus—if we are not to regard the Monumentum Ancyranum as such. Beck asserts² that what we know of the character of Tiberius would scarcely lead us to believe that he complied with the request of the Princeps. Human conduct, however, is a variable quantity. He who should strive to reduce to a system the behaviour of a Tiberius, presupposing a consistency of action, would succeed as well as if *det operam ut cum ratione insaniat*. The one passage that throws light upon the probable conduct of Tiberius in this instance, Beck has overlooked. Dio Cassius (57, 10, 1) states that Tiberius was scrupulous in perpetuating the memory of Augustus in the dedicatory inscriptions of

¹ Mnemosyne, vol. 26 (1898), p. 244-245.

² Mnemosyne, vol. 25 (1897), pp. 357-358.

buildings which Augustus had left incomplete; that he saw to it that statues and shrines were dedicated to the Princeps in due form. His reverent behavior in this regard must make us hesitate to interpret as due to a lack of filial piety his failure to bring the temple of Augustus to completion.¹

As for the rest, the question resolves itself into a canvassing of probabilities in which it is easy to offset the doubtful analogies cited by Beck in support of his contention, viz. refusal by Tiberius of the titles *pater patriae* and *dominus*, his misuse of the will of Augustus to further his own ends, his harsh conduct toward Livia (not altogether gratuitous; cf. Dio, 57, 12). None of the motives that governed his actions in these cases could have been present to affect his attitude toward the request of Augustus in which we are interested. Neglect to carry out this last wish of Augustus would have been a senseless affront, from which Tiberius had nothing to gain. Such a step would have redounded positively to his disadvantage. The document containing the *Index rerum . . . gestarum*, together with its accompanying *volumina* had been opened and read in the Senate (Suet. Aug. 101; Dio, 56, 33, 1). Its contents, as well as the disposition which Augustus had stipulated should be made of them, were familiar to all Rome. Public sentiment expected of Tiberius prompt fulfillment of the design of Augustus and would have been correspondingly swift to censure a display of wanton indifference on the part of the new emperor toward the wishes of the old. At the beginning of his reign Tiberius was not the man to go out of his

¹It is unfair to regard the non-completion(?) of the temple as a deliberate act of disrespect. Beck notes only Suet. Tib. 47; Cal. 21. From Tac. Ann. 6, 45, 2 it appears that the temple was practically finished. Tiberius refrained from dedication *contemptu ambitionis aut per senectutem*. Pliny, N. H. 35, 131, speaks of the dedication of paintings in the temple, a fact which likewise points to the virtual completion of the edifice at the hands of Tiberius. Here, as elsewhere, Beck is hasty in his interpretation of evidence.

way to brave public opinion. There was a Germanicus still alive to act as a check on his ambition (Dio, 57, 3, 1; 4, 1). To run a useless risk of incurring general disapproval was not like the Tiberius who hesitated to lay himself liable to the enmity which a formal assumption of supreme power might have brought him (Suet. Tib. 24, 25; Dio, 57, 2, 3-4; 3, 1); who was at such pains to keep public favor that he declined many of the prerogatives of sovereignty (Dio, 57, 2, 1; 57, 8, 1-2; Suet. Tib. 26), made a show of preserving the old freedom by paying respect to the forms and institutions of the Republic (Suet. Tib. 30; Dio, 57, 7, 2-6; 11, 3), strove at all times to conduct himself with informality. It is from such speculations only, involving the influences to which Tiberius was subject at the beginning of his reign that his attitude toward the *Res Gestae* may be reconstructed with any show of probability. Most convincing is the passage from Dio (57, 10, 1) cited above. Yet the strongest proof that Tiberius respected the wish of Augustus in the matter under discussion is the *Monumentum Ancyranum*.

The silence of subsequent writers concerning the presence of any such inscription before the Mausoleum is a curious fact—nothing more. No one vouchsafes a word as to the *Fasti Consulares* and *Acta Triumphorum* on the Regia. Why? Because it is unfortunately true that much which now seems, in the comparative dearth of material, of first importance, historically or archaeologically, was but an everyday affair to the writers and the world for which they wrote. Neither historian nor antiquarian chose for mention the inscriptions which a later age might find of service. The absence of reference to the inscription in the defective and arbitrarily-constructed descriptions of the City that begin to appear in the fourth century A. D., should not cause surprise. The redactions of the Constantinian description, *Notitia* and *Curiosum*, find no room for inscriptions in their lists of hills, streets, and buildings. When

we come to the Einsiedeln manuscript and *Mirabilia* of the Middle Ages, the chances for the preservation of an inscription cut on bronze and easily accessible, are materially diminished. The Einsiedeln collection contains only a hundred inscriptions, chosen at random without particular regard for the historically important. The *Mirabilia* names but two inscriptions, one of these in connection with a brief description of the Mausoleum. The compiler had no concern for the really significant stones. The choice¹ that he made from all the inscriptions that the interior of the Mausoleum had to offer, is sufficient indication that he jotted at random, with little historical sense or antiquarian curiosity. So, even though the tablets containing the *Index rerum gestarum* were still *in situ*,—a probability of which there must be grave doubt—it is more than likely that a person who ignored quite as conspicuous and interesting inscriptions on his giro² would have accorded it no mention.

Beck is not alone in his discernment of certain orthographical and syntactical peculiarities in the *Monumentum*. Their presence has not escaped the notice of others. Yet, far from utilizing occasional irregularities and inconsistencies as grounds for suspecting the authenticity of the inscription, Mommsen has seen exemplified therein the brand of *elegantia* stamped by the ancient critics³ on the style of the Princeps, and Wölfflin finds that the inscription presents, on the whole, a diction worthy of a pseudo-son of Julius.⁴ All must agree that Beck is too ready to pick flaws in the style and diction of the *Monumentum Ancyranum*. If its standing were to be impeached on the basis of many of his objections, the good name of any work by any author is insecure. Every deviation from a stereotyped mode of expression, for example, *plebi Romanae*, *plebi urbanae*, and

¹ *Nerve imperatoris*.

² Cf. Jordan, *Top.* vol. 2, p. 424.

³ *Suet.* Aug. 86; *Fronto*, Ep. 123 Nab.; cf. Mommsen, *R. G.* p. 189.

⁴ *Epig. Beitrage* 2, p. 160 ff.

simply *plebi*; *viritim HS trecenos, sexagenos denarios HS milliēns et septingēnties*; *numeravi, pernumeravi, and solvi*; *M. Lepido et L. Arruntio cos. and C. Furnio, C. Silano cos.* are to him reprehensible inequalities of style. Why are they not rather attempts to avoid sameness of expression? I fail to discover any inconsistency in the fact that the inscription has *flumen Tanaim* (5, 53), *ad ostium Albis fluminis* (5, 12), *trans Tiberim* (4, 43), *ab ostio Rheni* (5, 14). The omission of the word *flumen* with the names of rivers that were household words at Rome is natural. *Fluminis Danui* (5, 47) immediately followed by *trans Danuvium* is in the mode of Julius Caesar.¹ So Julius often leaves the names of towns comparatively obscure unmodified by *oppidum*, even at first mention. Compare with *oppidum Nabata cui proxima est Meroe* (M. A. 5, 22), *ad eum locum qui appellatur Anquillaria. Hic locus abest a Clupeis et seq.* (Caesar, B. C. 2, 23, 1); *nacti portum qui appellatur Nymphaeum, ultra Lissum* (B. C. 3, 26, 4); *Pelusium pervenit* (B. C. 3, 103, 1). No great significance is to be attached to *in consulatu sexto* (2, 2). The Monumentum has uniformly *in consulatu* (2, 2; 3, 9; 3, 22; 6, 13), a mode of expression to which the author was at least constant, although he deviates from the Ciceronian idiom therein. The use of the preposition *in* with *locus* in one case over against its omission in another (cf. *in quo loco* 4, 43; *compluribus locis* 4, 10), cannot be set down as a peculiarity of style limited to the inscription.² A certain variety in expression is the privilege of any author.

I shall not linger before certain objections made to ex-

¹ Caesar, in B. C. writes at first mention of the Ebro, *flumen Hiberum* (1, 60, 2). Thereafter *flumen* is omitted or inserted at pleasure; cf. 1, 61, 5; 1, 61, 6; 1, 62, 3; 1, 63, 1; 1, 73, 1 *et al.* Also 1, 40, 1 *In Sicore flumine*; 1, 63, 1 *Sicorim*.

² Cf. Caesar, B. C. 1, 79, 4 *in locis superioribus*; 1, 65, 1 *locis superioribus*; 1, 43, 3 *acique in locis idoneis instructa*; 3, 46, 2 *idoneis locis funditores instruxit et al.*

pressions such as 1, 13 *terra et mari, toto in orbe*, which are no transgressions against *elegantia*, strictly speaking, and are recognized as possibilities in classical parlance.¹ Here again Augustus followed the dictates of his own taste. Nor is the close connection of a prepositional phrase with a noun as in *templum Apollinis in Palatio*² *cum porticibus, aedes in Capitalio Jovis Feretri, pulvinar ad Circum Maximum* out of keeping with an Augustus who followed in general a *genus eloquendi . . . elegans et temperatum*. In a passage which pretends to be only a catalogue of buildings erected, the clipped construction involved in the collocations just cited is pardonable as consistent with the demands of brevity and conciseness. In a formal prose production this construction may be criticised at most as a departure from a precise style; unclassical it is not. The germs out of which this construction grew are apparent in both Caesar and Cicero. The rapidity of its development is well shown by comparison of the Gallic and Civil Wars. The instances in the latter work far outnumber those in the former. After the full sway which Livy gave such formations, an occasional usage of this character in such a composition as the Monumentum is not offensive.³ Here, as everywhere, in criticising the diction of the Monumentum Ancyranum it behooves one to remember that Augustus in composing his *Res Gestae* was not aiming to produce an exhaustive biography. His purpose was to make a brief compendium of the salient features of his career, to be published in inscriptional form. Terse-ness of expression would, therefore, be in place far more than in a work intended as a set literary production. Augustus must needs have adapted his method of presentation to suit the exigencies of the case. Doubtless, if we were

¹ Draeger, *Hist. Syn.* vol. 2, p. 40; Reisig, *Lat. Syn.* neu bearb. von Schmalz und Landgraf p. 678; Menge, *Repet.* 111 a.

² *Mon. Anc.* 4, 1-8.

³ Reisig, *op. cit.* p. 524, n. 512; Dietrich, *Zeitschrift für die Alt. Wiss.* 1837, H. 4, p. 364.

able to use in comparison all the books that came from the hand of Augustus, as marked a contrast would be apparent between the style of the books *De sua vita* and that of the *Monumentum* as we know existed between his epistolary usage and that of his formal prose works.¹

The traces of Silver Latinity visible here and there are not less applicable as arguments for than as against Augustan authorship. It would have been strange indeed had the Princeps held entirely aloof from the influence of the literary tendencies that began to prevail in his later years. The *Res Gestae* was written a generation after the death of the deified Julius. During this time there had been active influences which modified the language in important details. A Livy had written and set the mode; the sporadic occurrence of Livian and post-Livian elements is, therefore, not surprising. Indeed, the total absence of such formations would furnish just cause for wonder. To the indisputable instances of non-Caesarian usage—they are few in number and have been generally acknowledged—Beck brings no addition of significance.² Many of the passages cited as examples of negligence or obscurity in structure are such as might occur in any author.

To the influences which must inevitably have exerted an effect upon the style in which the *Res Gestae* was couched, we must add the purely external conditions attending the production of the Ancyran exemplar. It is at least twice removed from its archetype, being itself a transcription of a transcription. It is, therefore, by no means beyond the possibilities of error common to the transmission of manuscripts. Probably the person responsible for this last edition, the stone-cutter, was a man whose native tongue

¹ Suet. Aug. 87: *Cotidiano sermone quaedam frequentius et notabiliter usurpasse eum, litterae ipsius autographae ostentant.*

² The force of two criticisms made by Beck on the Latinity of the inscription has been recently challenged. See K. Engelhardt, *Zum Monumentum Ancyranum*, Speyer, 1902, pp. 40-41.

was not Latin. The usual difficulty of an exact following of copy would thus be enhanced. Some glaring inconsistencies of spelling must be attributed to this cause.¹ Again, it is likely that the original draft suffered some revision before publication. This fact is patent in respect to the superscription and is a hypothesis proposed in connection with other parts.²

To sum up—a candid estimate of the Latinity of the Monumentum necessitates consideration of the following points: (1) Augustus, as we know, did not feel bound always to observe a fixed norm, without regard to the character of the work on which he was engaged or stubbornly to combat the stylistic tendencies of his time. (2) The Monumentum Ancyranum is an exemplar, not of a conventional prose biography, but of a brief epitome of the principal events in the life of the Princeps. (3) The work was primarily intended to be made public in inscriptional form. (4) The Monumentum Ancyranum is at least twice removed from its archetype. If the margin demanded by these points be allowed, one need find no difficulty in attributing the authorship of the Monumentum Ancyranum to Augustus.

If, as I have endeavored to show, the force of the objections urged against the identification of the Monumentum Ancyranum with the Res Gestae mentioned by Suetonius, is open to question, the validity of the data on which we have seen that the accepted conclusion rests, remains unimpaired. The original of which the Monumentum purports to be a copy is, therefore, to be sought in the *Index rerum a se gestarum*, which, in compliance with the wish of Augustus was put into inscriptional form and displayed before his tomb for all men to see. Are we to suppose that

¹ 2, 2 *et*; 2, 42; 2, 45 *claussum*, *clausum*; 2, 18; 4, 36 *collegium*, *conlegium*; 3, 24 *municipis*; 4, 22, *ad aede*; 4, 45 *ducenti*; 5, 10 *provincias*; cf. Wölfflin, *op. cit.* pp. 256-258.

² Cf. Mommsen, *R. G.* p. 2; p. 194.

this bronze record was still in existence in Dio's time? It is by no means a rash step to take its preservation for granted. The Mausoleum remained as yet unmolested. Nothing worse than the inundations of the Tiber could have assailed it. In all human probability, therefore, the inscription remained where Tiberius had placed it. Nissen,¹ indeed, asserted that it was on the basis of personal knowledge that Dio wrote the reference to the inscription already quoted.² This conclusion, however, is scarcely tenable. That Dio had seen the inscription is, I believe, certain. The passage, however, does not present the report of an independent observer but is adopted almost verbatim from Suetonius whose works Dio used directly.³ Dio did not care to make such additions to the words of Suetonius as first-hand acquaintance with the inscription might have suggested. We shall see that this conforms precisely with his ordinary mode of procedure.

In Dio's neglect of the Monumentum we have thus found an illustration of his unwillingness to supplement his literary sources by recourse to an inscription which leaves nothing to be desired in prestige of authorship and consequent authority. We may stop for a moment before a kindred instance. It is well known that the Roman historians preserve unbroken silence concerning the great consular and triumphal records on the walls of the Regia. There is likewise no adequate evidence to indicate that any of the writers whose works have come down to us deemed it worth while to consult these chiselled Fasti. The extent of Dio's variance is most clearly discernible in connection

¹ Rhein. Mus. vol. 41 (1886), p. 482.

² Cf. p. 28.

³ Cf. Haupt, Philol. vol. 43 (1884) p. 686; Grohs, op. cit. p. 135 and passim; Dederding, De Suet. vita Caesaris, Jena, 1871, p. 7 and passim; Mommsen, R. G. p. 1; H. Peter, op. cit. 1, p. 453, n. 3; Beck, Mnemosyne, vol. 25 (1897), p. 350.

with the years of Julius Caesar's dictatorships. I transcribe for convenience Mommsen's table (C. I. L. I, p. 40):

Year.	Fasti.	Dio.
46	Dict. II Cos. III	Dict. III Cos. III (43, 1, 1; 43, 33, 1)
45	" III " IIII	" IIII " IIII (43, 45, 1; 43, 14, 5)
44	" IIII " V	" V " V (43, 49, 1)

We may add the following data, all that the fragmentary condition of the text and the inscription renders available:

Four cases in which Dio reverses the order in which the names of the consuls are given by the *Fasti*:

- 60 B. C. FASTI: [Q. Cae]ci[lius Quinti filius Quinti nepos] | Metellus Celer L. Afranius Auli filius nepos].
Dio, 37, 49, 1: τὸν τε Ἀφράνιον τὸν Λούκιον καὶ τὸν Μίτελλον τὸν Κίλερα ὑπάτους ἀποδειχθῆναι ἐποίησεν.
- 49 B. C. FASTI: C. Claudius M(arci) F(ilius) M(arci) N(epos) Marcellus | L. Cornelius Publi filius nepos Lentulus Crus].
Dio, 41, 1, 1: ἐν ᾧ ὁ τε Λέντουλος ὁ Κορνήλιος καὶ ὁ Κλαύδιος ὁ Γάϊος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνεστήσαντο.
- 9 A. D. FASTI: C. Poppaeus Q(uinti) F(ilius) Q(uinti) N(epos) Sabinus | Q. Sulpicius Q(uinti) F(ilius) Q(uinti) N(epos) | Camerinus.
Dio, 56, 1, 1: ἐν ᾧ Κύντος Σουλπίκιος καὶ Γάϊος Σαβίνος ὑπάτευσαν.
- 13 A. D. FASTI: C. Silius P(ubli) F(ilius) P(ubli) N(epos) | C[a]e[cina Largus] L. Munatius L(uci) F(ilius) L(uci) N(epos) | Plancus.
Dio, 56, 28, 1: Λουκίου δὲ δὴ Μουνατίου καὶ Γαίου Σιλίου ἐς τοὺς ὑπατεύοντας ἐσγραφέντων.

These differences in order are not without weight and of course preclude direct relation.

On the year 23 B. c. there is more considerable disagreement. Dio, the Chronographus, the Fasti of Hydatius, and Livy in Cassiodorus give Augustus and Cn. Piso as eponymous consuls. The Fasti, although somewhat fragmentary, plainly have Murena as eponymous consul with Augustus, while Piso appears as *suffectus*.

23 B. C. FASTI: [*imp.*] Caesar Divi F(ilius) C(ai) N(epos) Augustus XI|A. T[erentius Auli filius . . . nepos Var]ro Murena|[*in magistratu mortuus*] est in e(ius) l(ocum) f(actus) e(st) [Cn. Calpurn]ius Cn(aei) F(ilius) Cn(aei) N(epos) Piso| Dio, 53, 30, 1: ὁ δ' Ἀβγουστος ἑνδέκατον μετὰ Καλπουρνίου Πίσωνος ἀρξας ἠρρώσθησεν.

For once Dio's anxiety to record the eponymous consuls has missed its mark. When we stop to consider that the number of years in which the text and the inscription can be placed in parallel is but thirty-two, including several instances in which the preservation of the Fasti is far from complete, these differences do not lack significance. It follows that if Dio and the stones could be brought into comparison from the earliest times, a number of discrepancies proportionally large would be noted.

It is certain that Dio had seen the Fasti Consulares with his own eyes. A fragment of the marble plan of Severus furnishes conclusive proof that the Regia had been restored from the damage wrought by the fire of Nero and was in existence when Dio lived and wrote. We cannot suppose that Dio deliberately neglected the testimony of these Fasti because he had anticipated Mommsen in discovering in them the hand of the craftsman rather than that of the scholar.¹ Granted that the cognomina and genealogical notes connected with the early consuls are to be viewed with suspicion,² the record as a whole must have been abreast of the antiquarian study of its time. Indeed, the position of these Fasti *ipso facto* marks them as the monumental Fasti of the City—a supposition which is sufficiently borne out by comparison with the other Fasti of

¹ Chronologie, p. 111. For a different view see Hirschfeld, *Hermes*, vol. 9 (1875), p. 101 ff.

² So C. Cichorius, *De fastis consularibus*, Leipzig, 1886, p. 177 ff.; p. 226 ff. The authenticity of the Fasti is strongly defended against the strictures of Cichorius by G. F. Unger, *Neue Jahrb. für Philologie und Paedagogik*, vol. 143 (1891), pp. 289-321; 465-496; 625-655.

Rome and the Italian towns. They surpass all others in fullness of mention and array of data. A discriminating historian may well have set a unique value on their testimony concerning a notable period of Roman history, since for the official changes of at least a generation preceding 36 B. C. they have the force of a contemporary account. In a word, had Dio wished to check his work by recourse to any monumental Fasti, it is to these of the Regia that he must have gone. Owing to the annalistic form in which he cast his narrative, Dio realized the importance of a correct designation of the eponymous consuls of each year.¹ With the *suffecti* he does not as a rule concern himself. He was at considerable pains to avoid error as is shown by the fact that, after noting the differences in tradition existing in connection with the consuls of the year 34 B. C., he explicitly states how uncertainty arose and corrects the blunder in his own book.² Thus it was not from lack of incentive that Dio was not moved to consult the Fasti of the Regia. If his neglect to utilize the material offered is due, not to deficiency of opportunity, nor to want of authority on the part of the record itself, nor to absence of interest in its content, the sole conclusion remaining is that he omitted recourse to it because use of the monuments did not lie ordinarily within his scheme of work.

An exhaustive epigraphic commentary upon the text of Dio Cassius does not lie within the limits of our inquiry. Hence it would be superfluous to discuss to their full extent the various contradictions that exist between the text of the historian and the stones. We are obliged to confine our attention to those cases in which we can show that the evidence furnished by inscriptions readily ac-

¹ His rule of procedure is stated in 43, 46, 6.

² Cf. 49, 38, 2; 49, 39, 1. See Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, 2nd ed. Berlin, 1899, vol. 1, p. 339. Proof of the correctness of Dio's statement is furnished by the coins.

cessible to Dio failed to modify his statements. We have, perhaps, already utilized the most important data obtainable. However, we can scarcely afford to pass over the testimony of the following passages, merely corroborative though it be:

(1) In 57, 17, 7-8 Dio alludes to the damage wrought by an earthquake in the cities of Asia Minor, and tells how Tiberius came to their relief with a remission of taxes and liberal gifts of money. Apropos of this event, Dio (section 8) writes as follows:

'For, while he kept his hands strictly off the property of others—as long, that is, as he observed virtuous conduct in other respects too—and did not receive the legacies which certain kinsmen bequeathed him, he spent vast sums in the interest of cities and private individuals and, in connection with these acts, accepted neither honor nor praise of any kind.'

Dio's assurance that Tiberius waived all requital for his deeds of generosity is at variance with a piece of evidence, monumental, if not properly epigraphic. The gratitude of the cities of Asia toward Tiberius took a material and pretentious mode of expression in the sculptured group representing the emperor surrounded by the restored towns—the original to which the well-known Puteoli basis now in Naples undoubtedly reverts. This original was set up in the Forum of Julius, close to the temple of Venus.¹ Its existence is further attested by coins of Tiberius.

Strangely enough, Dio is aware of the occasion of this act of liberality for which the group was set up but thinks so little of the monument as to write: *καὶ οὐτε τιμὴν οὐτε ἔπαινον οὐδένα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς προσεδέχετο*. The monument undoubtedly endured down to the time of Dio and beyond.

¹ Phlegon of Tralles, *περὶ θαυμασίων* Frag. 42 Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* vol. 3. On Puteoli base see Rushforth, *Latin Historical Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1893, p. 123.

We hear of no catastrophe visiting either the temple of Venus or the Forum of Julius to bring destruction on the group.¹ Certainly the Puteoli exemplar has been of long life. We must, I think, regard the discrepancy here involved as a further illustration of Dio's lack of anxiety to amplify or verify written tradition by recourse to the monuments. He found somewhere the statement that Tiberius refused all honors proffered in return for his acts of liberality, and accepted this evidence without question. It did not occur to him at the moment of writing to check this generalization by appeal to a mute but infallible witness.

(2) 54, 11, 7. 'Agrippa brought to the City at his own expense the water called the *Virgo*, and gave it the additional name of *Augusta*.' Notwithstanding this statement of Dio the name *Virgo* appears uniformly and alone on the inscriptions connected with this aqueduct (cf. C. I. L. VI, 1252, 1254 in which restorations by Claudius are mentioned, 1253 a. and 1253 b. in which the abbreviated form *Virg.* appears on an inscription of Tiberius). Neither Frontinus (c. 10) nor Pliny (N. H. 31, 42), both of whom relate that Agrippa conducted the Aqua Virgo to the City, mentions the fact that the name *Augusta* was applied to it. Had the name actually been given, as Dio seems to indicate, it would probably have appeared in the inscriptions. The Aqua Alsietina furnishes an analogous case. This water was brought to Rome by Augustus for use in the sham naval battles and was designated by the term *Augusta* (cf. Frontinus, c. 11: *Alsietinam aquam quae vocatur Augusta*). The name actually appears in an inscription (XI, 3772 a): It is probable, therefore, that the name *Augusta* was never applied to the *Virgo* but that the writer who furnished Dio with his information on this point had confused the

¹Cf. O. Gilbert, *Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom*, vol. 3, p. 227.

Virgo with the Aqua Alsietina or with that other stream brought in a subterranean channel by Augustus to reinforce the supply of the Marcia and hence termed Augusta (Front., c. 12; Mon. Anc. 4, 11). It is needless to add that Dio made no attempt to verify the statement found in the text by personal inspection of the aqueduct.

At this, the turning point of our inquiry, we may pause for a moment to acknowledge that thus far each test that we have been able to apply has indicated that Dio had no regard for inscriptional evidence. We should not be warranted, however, in basing a purely negative conclusion on these indications alone. In the excess of energy that has been expended on the study of the *Historia Romana*, Dio has suffered at the hands of investigators who have approached his work with a preconceived idea of what they should find there, hence have had sharp eyes for his blunders, have viewed his excellencies *oculis lippi inunctis*.¹ Let us avoid a like injustice by throwing into the balance such grains of affirmative evidence as are forthcoming from the text of Dio as a whole, where surface references to inscriptions are numerous.

At the outset, fairness demands the readjustment of an inaccurate arrangement of data on the score of which Egger deemed himself justified in refusing to Dio recourse to epigraphic sources. In 53, 22, 1-2, under the year 27 B. C., Dio speaks of the repairs instituted by Augustus on various roads and the personal supervision of the paving of the Via Flaminia. On this last point, Egger thinks, Dio is apparently convicted of an anachronism 'by the inscription on the arch of Rimini which probably he had not seen or which at least he had not

¹Largely owing to the unguarded application of the so-called One-Source Principle. For just estimates of Dio's work and authority cf. Haupt, *Philol.* vol. 44 (1885), pp. 575-578; H. Peter, *op. cit.* vol. 2, pp. 84-101: 260 ff.

examined with care.'¹ In proof Egger remarks² that the inscription in question (Orelli, 604), shows that the bridge of Rimini over which the Via Flaminia was continued to the north, was repaired by Augustus in 13 A. D., by Tiberius in 20 A. D. By a curious but natural mistake Egger assigned to the famous arch at the south of the town the inscription that is really on the bridge. He should have written "du pont" instead of "de l'arc." The inscription actually on the arch—far from contradicting Dio—confirms the accuracy of his statement, as does also the Monumentum Ancyratum (4, 19–20), a fact which Egger overlooked. There is, therefore, not the slightest doubt that Augustus did repair the Via Flaminia in 27 B. C., as Dio says. The bridge inscription has nothing to do with this paving but refers to an entirely separate piece of work begun many years later. The operations of the year 27 were carried only to Ariminum, not beyond, as *Arimino tenus* of Suetonius (Aug. 30), *ab urbe Ariminum* of the Monumentum, and the location of the arch to the south of the town prove. The bridge spanning the Marecchia lies outside the bounds of the repairs of the year 27; the date assigned for its erection does not invalidate the truth of Dio's testimony. The historian and the inscription on the bridge vouch for two distinct occasions on which repairs were made along the line of the Via Flaminia and the Via Aemilia, and each is correct. The discrepancy of which Egger thought that he convicted Dio does not exist.

Thus a proper interpretation of the facts in the case does not warrant the assumption that Dio had never seen the arch or had not observed it with attention. It is easily within the limits of probability that Dio sometime passed beneath the arch, although the mention accorded to the structure in the text³ does not presuppose personal obser-

¹ Op. cit. p. 297.

² Op. cit. p. 297 n. 6.

³ και διὰ τοῦτο και εἰκόνας αὐτῶ ἐφ' ἀψίδων ἐν τε τῆ τοῦ Τιβερίου γεφύρα και ἐν Ἀριμίνω ἐποιήθησαν.

vation of it. The familiarity which he displays with the baths of Nero at Ravenna may indicate a sojourn in that city (61, 17, 2 ἡβητήριον . . . κατεσκεύασεν ἃ καὶ δεῦρο ἀνθεῖ). The shortest route overland from Rome to Ravenna would have led him to Rimini by the Flaminian Way. On the other hand there is in 53, 22, 1-2 no convincing indication that Dio's reference to the repair of the road was consciously inspired rather by knowledge derived from personal inspection of monuments than from recourse to the literary sources from which the rest of the context is taken, although it is possible that he may have thought in passing of the arch and its inscription.

In the *Historia Romana* there are four cases in which it is possible to entertain the opinion that Dio has appealed at first-hand to epigraphic sources. These instances are all in the later books. Three present surface reference to an inscription. In the remaining passage Dio's words, it would seem, were directly inspired by acquaintance with certain dedicatory inscriptions. The first case is found in 72, 22, 3:

'Commodus wished to kill both of the consuls . . . and on the first day of the month to issue forth from the barracks of the gladiators as consul and secutor alike. [That he should think of carrying out such a plan need cause no surprise] for he occupied the first dwelling in the quarter of the gladiators quite as if one of them. Let no one doubt my story. [Proof is easy] for he removed the head of the Colossus and substituted one of himself, furnished the statue with a cudgel and put at the feet of the figure a bronze lion—in imitation of Hercules. Then, in addition to the titles I have mentioned (72, 15, 5), he inscribed [on the pedestal of the statue] the following: "Secutor first in combat, who alone conquered with his left hand 12,000 (I think) opponents."'

It is evident that Dio here quotes from an inscription which he has personally inspected. Furthermore he is

dependent on his memory alone and presents his version with some hesitation. Small wonder! The number 12,000 surpasses all belief, even granting that by fortunate dispensation Commodus was invariably victorious. We learn from Herodianus and Lampridius, (1, 15, 9; Vit. Comm. c. 12, 11) here independent sources, that Dio's guess went far astray; 1,000 is the correct number and this the inscription undoubtedly gave.¹ How far to Dio's discredit should we interpret this error? In his uncertainty can we excuse him for a neglect to verify?

As a matter of fact, while the Colossus survived on its still-visible base long after the death of Commodus² unless all signs fail, we may be sure that the vainglorious inscription was short-lived. It is well known that one of the forms in which the universal execration of the dead madman showed itself was a demand for the destruction of his statues and the erasure of his name from monuments (Lamp. c. 18). On the motion of Cingius Severus the Senate passed a decree to this effect (Lamp. 20), and the provisions of this decree were carried out (Lamp. 17, 6). The inscription on the Colossus was doubly objectionable. Its location was most conspicuous. Its content was particularly odious in that it recorded a prostitution of office disgusting to decent folk in the lifetime of Commodus (Dio, 72, 20), a source of reproach after his death (Dio, 75, 8, 2-3) linked with the epithet *parricida* (Lamp. 20). In short, it scarcely needs other evidence to confirm the view that the inscription was wholly obliterated or at least so

¹Cf. Zürcher, Commodus, Ein Beitrag zur Kritik der Historien Herodians; Büdinger's Untersuch. zur Röm. Kais. Geschich. Leipsic, 1869, vol. 1, p. 225. The opinion of E. Volckman, De Herodiani vita, scriptis, fideque, Königsberg, 1859, pp. 25-26 that Lampridius derived the Colossus incident from Herodianus is not borne out by comparison of the passages.

²The Colossus appears on the coins of Alexander Severus, Eckhel, vol. 7, p. 271.

altered that the offensive elements were removed. While on inscriptions of ordinary import the obliteration of the name alone or the characteristic part of it would suffice, the rest of the subject-matter being allowed to stand if innocuous,¹ here the purpose of the erasure would be defeated if the *nomen* merely were done away with, the gladiatorial references left. However, if additional proof is desired, it is to be found in a passage in Lampridius (c. 17), which states explicitly that the *ornamenta* added by Commodus to the Colossus were entirely removed. Granting the possibility that in *ornamenta* Lampridius has reference more expressly to the club and the lion (cf. Dio, 72, 22, 3), it is only fair to assume that, if disapproval of the liberties which Commodus had taken with the statue led to removal of the attributes, public sentiment would have been content with no partial rectification but would have made away with the inscription at the same time.²

Commodus had been dead at least twenty years³ at the time at which Dio was putting this portion of his history into permanent form. It is, therefore, evident that no course was open to Dio except to rely upon his memory—or that of other men—for the words he wished to quote. We may dismiss absolutely the possibility of a later restoration of the titulus. Such an act by Pertinax is out of the question. True, Didius Julianus contemplated the renewal of the honors and statues of Commodus (Herod. 2, 6, 10). But surely a matter of such minor importance compared to

¹Cf. C. I. L. VI, 1016 b. the whole name is erased; VI, 1023 only Commodus Aug. is removed.

²Cf. J. M. Heer, *Der historische Wert der Vita Commodi*, Philol. Supplbd. 9, (1901), p. 121.

³Dio did not begin his history—according to the traditional view—until 201 A. D., cf. Reimar in *Sturz* vol. 6, p. 484 ff; Peter, *op. cit.* 2, 432. At the earliest not before 198 A. D.; cf. Wirth, *Questiones Severianae*, Leipzig, 1888, pp. 54–61. His work up to the time of the death of Severus occupied 22 years (72, 23, 5). The book on Commodus is number 72.

his own pleasures did not concern the man who cared so little for the fulfillment of his promises that he did not scruple to trick out of its dues the very soldiery to whom he owed his elevation (Herod. 2, 7, 1-2). Severus, to spite the Senate, elected to see in Commodus a victim of malice and injustice (Dio, 75, 7, 4; 75, 8; Lamp. Vit. Comm. 17). There is, however, no record that his partisanship extended to a restoration of the monuments connected with Commodus. Moreover, the gladiatorial feats of the son of Marcus Aurelius form confessedly a weak point in the apology of Severus, inasmuch as a *tu quoque* is his sole rejoinder to the Senate. Restoration of the inscription on the Colossus would have emphasized what he wished to evade.

So, in this case we should not attribute the error which Dio has committed to a want of diligence in verification, since it was clearly not in his power to inspect the inscription at the time of writing. He stands convicted of a lapse of memory, not a heinous crime where numbers are concerned. It is not implied that he would have taken the trouble to remove his uncertainty by consultation of the inscription had such a course been open to him. That is another question.

Dio, 68, 2, 4 speaks of the death of Virginus Rufus, Nerva's colleague in the consulship:

'At his death there was inscribed on his tomb an epitaph to the effect that having defeated Vindex he did not lay claim to power for himself but for his country.'

As the commentators have long since pointed out, Pliny the Younger devotes a letter (6, 10) to this same Virginus Rufus and his tomb. He says that at a country-house near Alsium, at present owned by his mother-in-law, but once the property of Virginus, he visited the tomb of the deceased former owner and was pained to discover that some one's neglect had left the sepulchre uninscribed. The epitaph desired by Virginus was as follows:

Hic situs est Rufus, pulso qui Vindice quondam
Imperium adseruit non sibi sed patriæ.

There can be no reasonable doubt that Pliny made amends for the impiety of the recreant heirs and caused the epitaph to be inscribed on the tomb. The closing words of the letter are indicative of his intention: *Tam rara in amicitia fides, tam parata oblivio mortuorum ut ipsi nobis debeamus etiam conditoria extruere omniaque heredum officia praesumere.* Dio's language indicates also that the epitaph was actually cut on the tomb. There is much to lend color to the assumption that Dio again quotes from memory this inscription of striking content. Alsium was close to the City and the grave of a man so famous in his time as was Rufus may well have challenged the antiquarian interest often displayed by Dio.

In 69, 19, 2, having already mentioned a certain Similis as one of the illustrious men of Hadrian's reign, Dio concludes his account of him thus:

'He was reluctant to assume the command of the prætorians and reluctant to lay it down. After he had been with some difficulty forced to retire, he spent the seven years which remained to him in a tranquil life in the country. So it was that on his tomb he caused to be inscribed this epitaph: "Here lies Similis, the years of whose life were so-and-so many, but who lived seven years."'¹

As in the preceding case the epitaph is apparently given in substance rather than quoted literally and may, though of course we cannot be sure, revert to a metrical original. *τόσα* appears in lieu of the definite number which undoubtedly was given in the original and conveys the sense of 'such-and-such a number,' 'so-and-so many,' more commonly rendered in Greek by *τόσα καὶ τόσα*. In Latin *tot*

¹ *Σίμιλις ἐνταῦθα κεῖται βιωὺς μὲν ἔτη τόσα, ζήσας δὲ ἔτη ἑπτὰ.*

sometimes has a like force.¹ One is tempted to surmise that the *τόσα* emanates from Dio whose uncertainty in the recollection of numbers we have but just seen in connection with the inscription of the Colossus. If our hypothesis be correct, Dio is again quoting an inscription from memory. The years of "existence" eluding him, instead of indulging in a wild guess as before, he writes simply *τόσα*.² Exact proof is evidently impossible. Dio may have found in a book the epitaph of Similis, given in paraphrase as he gives it here with one number lacking. Or it is possible that in his source both numbers were set down but that Dio at the time of writing was unable to verify, or, as would be typical of the history-writer of his school, deemed such exertion useless. The most that can be said is that the suggestion of quotation from memory coincides with what we have already learned of his procedure.

Chapter 16, Book 76, contains a brief résumé of the character of Severus, referring in a sketchy way to certain excellencies and shortcomings. Among Dio's comments the following is worthy of some attention:

(76, 16, 3) 'Severus restored a large number of the ancient edifices and inscribed upon them his own name just as if he had built them entirely new at his own expense.'

The animus of Dio's criticism is easily intelligible. Severus, in his desire to perpetuate his memory on the historic edifices of the City was wont to inscribe his name on buildings which he had merely repaired and not rebuilt *de solo*. It is apparent that in Dio's opinion the conduct

¹ See Georges, *Lexicon*, under *tot* and compare also the words of the scholiast on Persius, Sat. 2, 1, who, curiously enough, in referring to an epitaph which is almost beyond a doubt that of Similis writes *vixit annos tot, duravit autem tot*.

² There is some MS. evidence—not, however, convincing—pointing to a definite number instead of *τόσα*. Either *τόσα* or *τόσα καὶ τόσα*, proposed by Sturz and favored by Boissevain is the correct reading. See editions.

of Severus overstepped the bounds prescribed by custom. A correct procedure would recommend the retention of the name of the original builder and silence as to the services of the restorer. This foible of Severus is well attested by the inscriptions. For example, there is the well-known inscription on the Pantheon where below Agrippa's dedication appears the name of Severus, accompanied as usual by the name of Caracalla, together with the typical formula *Pantheon vetustate corruptum cum omni cultu restituerunt*. The restorations of Severus were confined to the interior of the building. Yet he usurps a place on the architrave—an act quite in contrast with the behavior of Hadrian who permitted his reconstruction of the building to go unnoticed (cf. C. I. L. VI, 896). Almost as conspicuous an instance is furnished by the inscription on the *Templum Sacrae Urbis* (C. I. L. VI, 935). Under Vespasian's inscription we read [*imperatores Caesares S*]everus et Antoninus Pii Aug(usti) Felices restituere. The repairs carried out by Severus in no sense amounted to a complete rebuilding, yet he inscribed his name beneath that of Vespasian, the original builder. For further illustration of a like procedure on the part of Severus we may cite C. I. L. VI, 938 from the temple of Vespasian, VI, 1034 from the Portico of Octavia—here the original dedicatory inscription was entirely neglected—and probably C. I. L. VI, 883:

Livia [D]rusi F(ilia) Uxor [Caesaris Augusti] Imp(eratorum) C[ae]sares Severus et [Antoninus] et Aug(usti) Mater [restituere]. I have no hesitation in asserting that Dio had these cases and others like them in mind when he wrote the words given above. It is to be remembered in this connection that Dio's account of the reign of Severus is the narrative of an eye-witness. When we find, therefore, that his statement is confirmed¹

¹ Spartianus, (Vit. Sev. c. 23) differs from Dio in that he refers to the treatment accorded by Severus to the memory of the original

so fully by existing inscriptions, it is reasonable to see in his familiarity with these inscriptions the inspiration of his comment.

Naturally one meets here and there throughout the *Historia Romana* passages which do not contain surface reference to inscriptions but which bear in subject-matter resemblance more or less pronounced to epigraphic material known to us. Occasionally one finds strong mutual confirmation as in the case of the sepulchral inscription of Varius Marcellus (C. I. L. X, 6569; cf. Dio, 78, 30, 2-3). However in no such passage could the most partial observer discover direct influence exerted by the inscription except in one instance (68, 16, 2). This is Dio's account of the column of Trajan, where *ἐς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔργου· παντὸς γὰρ τοῦ χωρίου ἐκείνου ὄρεινῷ ὄντος κατέσκαψε τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὁ κίων ἀνίσχει* seems an echo, possibly unconscious, of *ad declarandum quantae altitudinis mons et locus tantis operibus sit egestus*.¹

If this is the extent of the affirmative evidence obtainable, we shall be obliged to confess that its chief significance lies in its paucity. To estimate it at its full value we have but to reflect once more upon the vast amount of material of prime historical importance that the walls and

builder in a flattering vein. I reserve for another occasion a full discussion of various phases of this question.

¹ The interpretation of this inscription proposed by J. O. F. Murray and supported by Dr. Verrall (*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* nos. 46-48, London, 1898) seems fanciful in the extreme. *Tantis operibus* is taken to refer to the exploits commemorated on the shaft, *locus* to the elevated position to which the imperial effigy was raised. If the composer of the inscription meant to convey any such ideas he could scarcely have pitched upon a diction more obscure. Dio's information is specific. We cannot but conclude that, as Dio states, the height of the column has reference to the excavating or grading that took place in connection with the construction of the Forum. See Burn, *Rome and the Campagna* p. 148, n. 2.

public places of Rome had to offer to the author of such a work as the *Historia Romana*. How trivial in comparison, both in quantity and quality, is the information for which he has utilized the stones! The instances in which we have ventured to detect tokens of personal familiarity with inscriptions form but a small fraction of the total number of passages in which mention is made of inscriptions or inscribed monuments. It follows that this very considerable residuum Dio has incorporated from literary sources just as he might include in his history any other data that suited his fancy or appealed to his judgment. With most of these surface references there is no room for doubt. To treat each case separately would be tedious and unprofitable. I have, therefore, confined myself to listing in a table the passages in question, noting briefly the indications of literary provenance. Often the passage itself furnishes satisfactory evidence of the origin of the reference. When, for example, mention of an inscription is found occurring in integral connection with a series of related facts, if it is one of the provisions of a decree of the Senate, it is more than likely traceable to the literary origin from which the rest of the passage comes. Again—when citation of an inscription can be duplicated by a kindred passage from another writer, the *prima facie* evidence is good for attributing the reference in question to literary tradition, even when it is impossible to prove a source-relation between the *Historia Romana* and the other work coming into consideration. Frequently it is self-evident from the character of the inscription mentioned that it could not have existed in Dio's time.

	<i>Passage.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Frag.	75, 2.	Dedication of spoils of Mummius under the name of Lucullus; cf. Strabo, 8, 381.
	37, 9, 2.	Mention—among other prodigies—of the obliteration by lightning of inscribed tablets affixed to the Capitol.

<i>Passage.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Frag. 37, 21, 2.	Inscription on a trophy displayed in Pompey's triumph.
37, 44, 1-2.	Attempt of Caesar to have the name of Catulus inscribed on the Capitol replaced by that of Pompey.
39, 21, 1.	Destruction of tablets commemorating the exile of Cicero.
41, 14, 3.	Tablets of the laws struck by lightning on the Capitol; cf. 37, 9, 2.
42, 15, 5.	Erasure of the name of Pompey from the shields of soldiers.
42, 32, 3.	Destruction by Antonius of tablets containing the laws.
43, 14, 6.	Contained in a list of honorary decrees passed by the Senate in favor of Julius Caesar.
	(a) Inscription on a statue of Caesar— <i>ἡμίθεός ἐστι</i> ; afterwards removed by Caesar's order.
	(b) Authorization of substitution of the name of Caesar for that of Catulus on the Capitol. The name of Catulus was not actually erased; cf. Tac. Hist. 3, 72.
43, 45, 3.	More decrees in Caesar's honor. Statue inscribed <i>θεῶ ἀνικήτῳ</i> ; cf. Suet. Caesar 76.
43, 49, 1-2.	Caesar permitted Antony to have the honor of an inscription on the Rostra. Antony's name was subsequently erased; cf. Dio, 51, 19, 3.
44, 5, 2.	Destruction of Curia Hostilia to prevent the perpetuation of Sulla's name.
44, 7, 1.	Decrees in honor of Caesar written in letters of gold on silver tablets.
44, 12, 3.	Graffito on a statue of Brutus; cf. Suet. Jul. 80; Plut. Brut. 9.
44, 53, 4.	The Senate forbade certain transactions of Antony to be inscribed—as was customary—on bronze tablets.
45, 17, 3.	Destruction of tablets by a storm.

	<i>Passage.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Frag.	45, 17, 6.	Crows obliterate names of Antony and Dolabella on a tablet.
	45, 23, 7.	Cf. 44, 53, 4.
	46, 23, 2.	Reference by Calenus to inscribed tablets.
	46, 36, 4.	Message written on thin plate of lead and carried by bird.
	47, 11, 2.	Statue of Popilius Laenas, slayer of Cicero.
	48, 13, 6.	Inscription placed by citizens of Nursia on the tombs of those who fell in the Civil war; see also Suetonius, Aug. 12.
	48, 30, 6.	Name of Sextus Pompey on shields of soldiers.
	50, 5, 1.	Name of Cleopatra on shields.
	54, 23, 6.	Dedication of stoa in name of Livia.
	55, 8, 2.	Desire of Tiberius to dedicate the new temple of Concord in honor of Drusus and himself.
	55, 27, 4.	Inscription on the temple of Castor.
	56, 25, 1.	“ “ “ “ Concord.
	56, 29, 4.	Obliteration of the first letter of the name Caesar on a statue of Augustus.
	56, 33, 1.	Passage containing reference to Res Gestae.
	56, 40, 5.	Retention of name of founder on buildings restored by Augustus; cf. 53, 2, 4-5, and page 12.
	57, 10, 1-2.	Tiberius inscribed the name of Augustus on buildings begun by the Princeps and finished by himself.
	59, 4, 4.	Record of sacrifice to the Genius of Caligula inscribed on tablets.
	59, 16, 8.	Record of prosecutions for <i>maiestas</i> inscribed on bronze tablet.
	59, 19, 2.	Inscription on a statue of Caligula.
	60, 6. 8-9.	Name of Pompey restored by Claudius to the <i>scaena</i> of the theater built by him.
	60, 10, 2.	Speeches of Augustus and Tiberius inscribed on tablets.

	<i>Passage.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Frag.	61, 3, 1.	Address to the Senate, written by Seneca, inscribed on a silver tablet.
	63, 25, 2.	Virginus Rufus erased from a standard imperial titles applied to him.
	63, 26, 3.	Inscription on temple of Poppaea.
	67, 9, 2.	Use of inscribed silver tablets at a feast of Domitian; cf. 67, 9, 5.
	67, 10, 1.	Inscribed shields.
	68, 7, 2.	Inscription of Trajan on the Circus.
	69, 10, 2.	Epitaph of the horse Borysthenes; cf. Spart. Vit. Had. 20; C. I. L. XII, 1122. Dio and Spartianus probably used a common source; cf. J. Plew, Quellen-untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrians, Strassburg, 1890.
	76, 11, 2.	Name of Severus on a statue partly destroyed by lightning.

It will be noted that there are included here several passages containing references to inscriptions which Dio must certainly have seen. Such are 54, 23, 6, the inscription on the Portico of Livia; 56, 25, 1 on the temple of Concord; 60, 6, 8 the dedication on the *scaena* of Pompey's theater; Trajan's inscription on the Circus. In none of these instances, however, does examination justify the assumption that the mention of the inscription was inspired by direct inspection of the original to the exclusion of literary sources; the statement of 63, 26, 3, referring to the dedication of the Heroön of Poppaea, admits of proof neither in one direction nor the other, owing to our scanty knowledge of this monument.

It remains for us to summarize the results obtained from our investigation—no difficult task when the preponderance of evidence declares unequivocally for one conclusion. Deliberate and discriminating recourse to monumental sources formed no part of Dio's habitual procedure. There are at the most four instances in which he cites inscrip-

tions from personal familiarity with them. Moreover, in these cases his attitude is not that of a diligent inquirer who has gone in all seriousness to the stones for data by which to amplify or verify the material furnished by literary sources. It is not for demonstration but for illustration that Dio quotes the inscription placed by Commodus on the base of the Colossus, and the epitaphs of Similis and Rufus. These are introduced as bits of diverting, antiquarian information because they chance to occur to Dio at the moment of writing. There is no reason to suppose that, if Dio had not been familiar with these epitaphs, he would purposely have visited the tombs to read the inscriptions and to ascertain what light they had to throw on the characters of the two worthies in question. There are no indications of the quasi-scientific spirit with which Cato studied gravestones for genealogical information (Cic. De. sen. 7, 21). It is possible that we have an echo of an inscription in one or two other individual cases; yet in general it is clear that the numerous surface references to inscriptions are traceable to a literary origin. Most impressive are the signal instances in which Dio has been found guilty of over- or under-statement, caused by neglect of monumental testimony accessible to him.

In the application of these results Dio must, in justice, be measured by the standards of historical writing accepted by his own times. Denial of recourse to epigraphic sources is not to be construed as an addition to the many reproaches that have been heaped, rightly or wrongly, on Dio's head. Naturally our estimate of the authority of the *Historia Romana* would be heightened had more affirmative evidence been found. Yet, as it is, Dio's conduct in this regard leaves no more to be desired than that of Livy in the famous episode of the Tolumnian corselet (4, 20, 5-11).

It is needless to repeat here the very obvious fact that to the Roman historians inscriptions were not the indispensable helps that we, in the comparative dearth of

material, nowadays consider them. In many cases the inscription was not the original source. Much that the stones offered was more accessible in the State archives and libraries. Thence it is probable that Suetonius derived the items taken from the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*. It is not certain that Livy took his condensation of the *Senatus decretum de Bacchanalibus* (39, 18) or Tacitus his version of the speech of Claudius (Ann. 11, 24), *ab ipso aere*.

In the absence of any constant necessity for consulting the monuments there is little cause for wonder that their aid was almost wholly dispensed with even when they could have rendered vital assistance. Often they could have supplied information, genealogical and antiquarian, over and above that which literary or documentary sources rendered available. They would have supplied an infallible resource for verification of written records had the ambition of ancient writers to be accurate soared so high. If Dio had cared to check his book-knowledge by what a walk from the Campus Martius to the Coliseum could have taught him, he would have avoided error—but would have become an impossibility for his time and school.



THE LOST EPITOME OF LIVY.*

INTRODUCTION.

A. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE.

In the discussion of the Lost Epitome of Livy which was included in the introduction to my *Quellencontamination* in 21. und 22. Buche des Livius,¹ I was forced by the subordinate character of this portion of the work to confine myself to a general determination of the date, character and influence of the Epitome.² I there discussed the more important articles on the subject, which had appeared up to that time, and so shall omit reference to them here.³ The few chapters thus published were merely preliminary, and it was my intention to complete my investigation of this subject at an early date, but the appearance of several articles from others on the same theme, and the constant additions to my own material, have combined to delay the serious prosecution of my task until now. I begin with an examination of the contributions to the literature of the subject, which have appeared since 1897.

The first of these was by G. Reinhold, *Das Geschichtswerk des Livius als Quelle späterer Historiker.*⁴ It is characteristic of Reinhold's work, that he knew neither the dissertation by Ay⁵ nor my book on the subject of the

* A fragment containing six books of an Epitome Livii was recently found in Egypt.

¹ Published in Berlin, 1897; cited below as *Quellencont.*

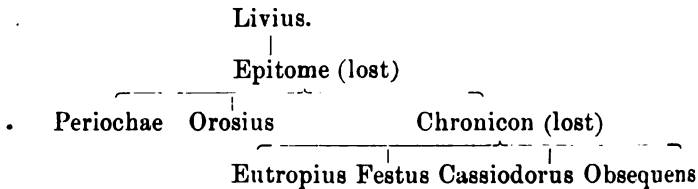
² Epitome, when used alone, is to be understood as Epitome of Livy, and Epitomator as the author of the same.

³ Schanz, *Röm. Litt.* vol. 2, pt. 1, p. 258, gives a fairly complete review of the literature; for other articles compare Reinhold and add Traube, *Rhein. Mus.*, vol. 40 (1885), p. 154.

⁴ Prog. Berlin, 1898. Cited below as Reinhold.

⁵ *De Livii Epitoma deperdita*, Leipsic, 1894. Cited below as Ay.

Epitome; in the latter case he has perhaps a valid excuse as my contribution was published only six months before his, though in the same city; but his neglect of Ay's dissertation can have no such excuse and is all the more to be regretted as a perusal of it would have made it clear to him, that the scope of his work must be much broadened, even if his chief thesis did not have to be entirely abandoned. His outline of the relation of the Epitome to the later historians is given in the following table (p. 13):



His proof for the existence of the lost *Chronicon* and the accompanying fanciful arrangement of sources is based chiefly on the close agreement of Entropius and Festus in many passages, in all of which he insists that the two are derived from a common source, which is identical with the one claimed for certain portions of chapters 20 to 25 of Festus by H. Droysen (*Mon. Ger. Antiq.* II, p. xxv). The proofs brought forward by Förster,¹ Jacobi² and Ebeling,³ that Entropius was one of the sources of Festus, he rejects on the ground that Festus gives certain additions to and corrections of the statements of Entropius. But we can best explain such changes as the result of intelligent combination of sources on the part of Festus, though Reinhold has not considered this method of writing as even a possibility. The certainty and frequency of such combination by writers of the better period of Latin literature

¹ De Rufi Breviario eiusque codicibus, Vienna, 1874.

² De Festi breviaril fontibus, Bonn, 1874.

³ Quaes. Eutrop. Halle, 1881.

has been dwelt upon sufficiently in my work above cited. That the same method of composition prevailed among the later Roman historians down to and including Orosius was noted in the same work, and further investigation has increased the abundant examples of such source relationship. It is all the more natural to expect this procedure on the part of Festus as he is known to have used several sources besides Eutropius,¹ whom he copied most frequently. Of these we may reckon as certain Florus² and the Epitome³ while the use of others for short portions of the work is not denied even by Reinhold.⁴ Another circumstance upon which Reinhold lays great stress is that there is close verbal agreement between passages in the first portion of Festus (c. 1-14) and in the second portion (c. 15-30). He argues that as the source of Eutropius was used in the second part for the imperial history, so it must have been used in the first, as all the passages showing agreement belong properly in the second part and their appearance in the first part is thus a mere anticipation of what is to come. From this Reinhold concludes that the source in question must have covered the early portion of Roman history as well as the imperial period. But this is reasoning too fast and too far from slight premises. All that we know certainly is that the passages referred to are related, but it is a matter of pure conjecture whether Festus found them in the same historical connection in which he has reproduced them, or, as would seem more likely, inserted in the first part of his work passages drawn from a source, which he had determined to use more extensively in the second part. It is also possible that Festus wrote out the last 16 chapters of this short book before putting the

¹ Droysen's proof of a *common* source for Festus and Eutropius is now condemned by Wölflin, *Archiv f. Lat. Lex.* vol. 13 (1903), p. 75 ff.

² Cf. Eussner, *Phil.* vol. 37 (1877), p. 154 ff.

³ Cf. Jacobi and Ay, p. 49.

⁴ Cf. note to p. 5.

finishing touches on the first 14, so that these resemblances could be referred to the class of unconscious verbal repetitions, which occur so often in classical literature.¹ The recurrence of the same subject matter naturally suggested similarity of expression.

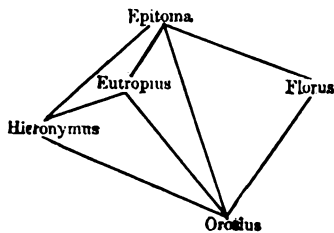
Still more fatal is Reinhold's failure to treat all the imitators of the Epitome for each of the passages he discusses; e. g. in his comparison (p. 6) of Festus 3, 3, *cum Parthis foedus initum est, contra Carduenos ac Saracenos et Arabas bellatum est, Iudaea omnis victa est, Cilicia, Syriae in potestatem pop. Rom. pervenerunt* and 16, 2, *receptae ab eo sunt Mesopotamia, Syriae et aliquanta pars Phoenices . . . Pompeius . . . Saracenos et Arabas vicit. Iudaea capta Hierosolymam obtinuit. Cum Persis foedus fecit*² with Eutropius 6, 13-14, *adempta est ei Syria, Phoenice, Sophanene; . . . mox Ituraeos et Arabas vicit. . . ad Iudaeam transgressus est Hierosolyma, . . . cepit*, he omits all mention of Orosius 6, 6, 1; *Syriam Coelen et Phoenicen bello adgressus, Ituraeos primum Arabasque perdomuit urbemque eorum, quam Petram nominant, cepit; hinc ad Iudaeos . . . Hierosolymam . . . expugnavit*. We may also compare Periocha Livii 101, *ei ademptis Syria Phoenice Cilicia . . . 102, Pompeius Iudaeos subegit, fanum eorum Hierosolyma . . . cepit*. The resemblance between these passages is marked enough so that we can connect them all with the Epitome, yet no two of them even approach identity of form. The reason for this is the excessive condensation from the undoubtedly much longer version of the Epitome. Note particularly that Festus agrees no more closely with Eutropius than with Orosius. Attention should also be called to the circumstance that Festus repeats this statement with some changes

¹Cf. Cook, Unconscious Iterations, *Class. Rev.* vol. 16 (1902), p. 146.

²The same statement with slight changes occurs also in chap. 14. I have cited more fully than Reinhold did, yet more may well be compared.

in three different parts of his work, though it could have appeared but once in the Epitome. This gives us a very plain hint as to his method of procedure in his other repetitions.

Again on p. 10 in treating of the story of Manlius Torquatus, Reinhold mentions only Livy, Per. Liv. and Eutropius, though there are many other authors showing relationship to the Epitome.¹ As I shall have occasion below to take up in detail Reinhold's special proofs of the existence of a lost Chronicon, the two examples above will perhaps suffice for the present. The fault is not in his knowledge but in his method, for he has in no case sought to compare authors outside of the narrow circle of users of the Epitome known to his predecessors, but with this scanty material has tried to trace the relationship of these later historians to each other, a futile task until we have all the parallel passages of the accepted users of the Epitome before us. Even then we must not rely on a few chance resemblances or discrepancies in order to prove a single or a chief source for any particular work. The Epitome so dominated all the later Roman historical literature that we often find it both as direct and indirect source for the same work. A good example of this is Orosius, a partial outline of whose sources shows the following different relationships to the Epitome :



But we can not always determine even existing intermediate

¹ For full discussion of these passages see below p. 195.

sources so certainly and, in case such supposed sources are lost, the task often becomes impossible.

Another scholar, who has treated of the influence of the Epitome, is Flemisch, in the *Archiv f. Lat. Lexicog.* vol. 11 (1899), p. 265 and in a program on Granius Licinianus (Lohr, 1900). His proofs for the use of the Epitome by Licinianus are necessarily weak owing to the fragmentary condition of the latter, but should be accepted in part at least.

Much has been contributed to our knowledge of the Epitome by Prof. Wölflin. His articles are contained in vols. 10 to 13 of the *Archiv f. Lat. Lex.* and concern themselves chiefly with the language of the Epitome. Yet for this purpose it would perhaps be better to collect more thoroughly the passages showing the influence of the Epitome, before drawing conclusions as to the language used. Thus in the *Archiv*, vol. 11 (1899), p. 273 he treats the story of Horatius at the bridge, showing by reference to *Per. Liv.*, Valerius Maximus, *De viris illustribus*, and Plutarch that the Epitome had changed the *in Tiberim de-luit* of Livy into *se in Tiberim misit* and had also added a clause *donec pons a tergo abrumperetur*. He later called the attention of his pupil Drescher to two other passages in Servius and Schol. Juvenal. and the latter added them on p. 21 of his thesis. Yet there are still others, a comparison of which will help to determine the form of the Epitome. For the sake of comparison I repeat them all, giving the words indebted to the Epitome in italics.

Per. Liv. 2.	Florus, 1, 4 (10), 4.	De vir. Ill. 11, 1.
(Horatius Cocles) qui, dum alii <i>pon-tem Sublicium</i> rescindunt, <i>solus Etruscos sustinuit</i> et <i>ponte rupto armatus in flumen se misit</i> et <i>ad suos transavit.</i>	<i>Horatius Cocles</i> postquam hostes undique instantes <i>solus summo-vere</i> non poterat, <i>ponte rescisso transavit</i> Tiberim nec <i>arma dimittit.</i>	<i>Horatius Cocles</i> . . . pro <i>pon-te sublicio</i> stetit et <i>aciem</i> hostium <i>solus sustinuit</i> , <i>donec pons a tergo interrumperetur</i> , cum quo <i>in Tiberim</i> decidit et <i>armatus ad suos transavit.</i>

- Val. Max. 3, 2, 1.
Horatius Cocles . . . totum hostium agmen, donec post tergum suum pons abrumperetur, infatigabili pugna sustinuit atque . . . armatus se in Tiberim misit lacus . . . natandi . . . unus . . . unus . . . unus . . .
- Serv. ad Verg. Aen. 8, 646.¹
sublicium pontem . . . solus Cocles hostilem impetum sustinuit, donec a tergo pons solveretur a sociis; quo soluto se cum armis praecipitavit in Tiberim, et licet laesus esset in coxa . . . fluenta superavit.
- Plutarch, Publ. 16.
 Κόκλιος Ὁράτιος καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ . . . Ἑρμίνιος καὶ Δάρκιος ἀντίστησαν περὶ τὴν ξυλίην γέφυραν . . . οὗτος ἐστὼς . . . ἤμίνετο τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀχρι οὐ διέκοψαν οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ κατόπιν τὴν γέφυραν. . . μετὰ τῶν ὀπλων ἀφείρις ἑαυτὸν, εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπενήξατο . . . δόρατι βεβλημένος τὸν γλουτόν.
- Schol. ad Juvenal. 8, 264.
Horatius Cocles cum fessos milites suos ab Etruscis videret, pontem Sublicium subduci iussit, ne protinus hostes ad urbem irent et ipse solus interim exercitum Porsenae sustinuit, dehinc armatus Tiberim transnavit ad suos.
- Frontinus, 2, 13, 5.
Horatius Cocles . . . iussit suos per pontem redire in urbem eumque, ne eos insequeretur hostis, intercidere. quod dum efficitur . . . ipse insequentes detinuit: audito deinde fragore pontis abrupti, deiecit se in alveum eumque in armis et vulneribus oneratus tranavit.
- Seneca, Epist. mor. 20, 3, 7.
Horatius Cocles solus implevit pontis angustias adimique a tergo sibi reditum, dummodo iter hosti auferretur, iussit et . . . restitit, donec revulsa ingenti ruina tigna sonuerunt . . . iecit se in praecipit . . . ut armatus . . . exiret.
- Ampelius, 20, 4.
Horatius Cocles, qui ponte rescisso Tiberis armatus transit natans.
- Seneca, Controvers. 10, 2, 3.
 dum cogito *Horatium Etruscae acies corpore suo summoventem*.

¹ Virgil also names only Cocles in connection with the legend.

Ampelius¹ and Seneca rhetor are too brief for us to lay great stress on their indebtedness to the Epitome, while Frontinus and Seneca phil. though preserving the distinctive features, have treated their copy very freely. Plutarch has the regular version of Livy except for a few sentences at the end, which were borrowed from the Epitome.

In all the others we find it stated or directly implied that Horatius alone withstood the Etruscan army, though Livy (2, 10, 6) gave him two supporters in all the important part of the defense. On the other hand Dionysius Hal. 5, 23-25 lays much more stress on the part of the contest when Horatius was alone, so it seems likely that at least one of his sources made Horatius the sole hero. Also Pliny, N. H. 34, 22 says expressly: *alia auctoritas M. Horati Coclitis statuae, quae durat hodieque, cum hostes a ponte sublicio solus arcuisset*. Here is the same divergence from the accepted version as we have established for the Epitome and it was quite certainly from the same source.

Now Pliny in his first book has enumerated the sources of the others, giving them for each book in the order in which they were first used in the same.² For book 34 the Roman sources are given in this order: L. Piso, Antias, Verrius, M. Varro, Cornelius Nepos, Messala Rufus, Marcus poeta, Bocchus, Julius Bassus, Sextius Niger, Fabius Vestalis. This order is further supported by the actual citations in the book, for Piso is cited first (§§ 14, 29 and 30), Antias next (§ 14), Verrius not at all, Varro in § 56 etc. So there can be no doubt that either Piso or Antias was the source of the passage about Horatius, as it comes in § 22. The probable influence of this source on Dionysius does not help us to decide whether it was Piso or Antias, but the popular character of the latter and his frequent

¹ Florus was intermediate source between Ampelius and the Epitome.

² Cf. H. Brunn, *De auctorum indicibus Plinianis*, Bonn, 1856.

use in the time of the Epitomator render him the more probable source for the Epitome. As Wölfflin has called attention to the expressions of the Epitome differing from Livy, I will note the imitations, which are *Horatius Cocles . . . pontem publicium . . . rescindunt, . . . sustinuit . . . armatus . . . ad suos tranavit.*

We have still to consider the work of Drescher, *Beiträge zur Liviussepitome*, Erlangen, 1900. This is a dissertation inspired by Prof. Wölfflin and, as might have been expected, the language of the Epitome has received special attention. Much hard work was evidently done in the collection of material and there can be no doubt that the author has made considerable contributions to our knowledge of the subject; yet parts of his work suffer from the same narrowness of vision which I have noted in the papers above discussed. Here however a more complete review and criticism of the passages incompletely or erroneously handled seems advisable, as I should otherwise find it necessary to repeat them in full later in the article.

I shall first discuss the passages which Drescher seems to have wrongly assigned to the Epitome.

(1) On p. 6 he says that the Epitomator invented the tribune Celer as murderer of Remus, citing the following passages as proof:

De vir. ill. 1, 4.

et ut eam prius legibus muniret quam moenibus edixit, ne quis vallum transilliret; quod Remus irridens transiit et a Celere centurione rostro (rutro) fertur occisus.

Origo gent. Rom. 23.

historia Liviana, quae testatur cumque muniret moenibus, edixit, ne quis vallum transilliret: quod Remus irridens transiit et a Celere centurione rutro fertur occisus.

Servius ad Verg. Aen. 11, 603: vel a duce Celere, qui dicitur Remum occidisse, in cuius gratiae vicem a Romulo fieri tribunus equitum meruit.

Celer had been already given as the murderer by Dionysius Hal. 1, 87, 4 as well as by Ovid, *Fasti* 5, 469, so there

can be little doubt that this was the invention of one of the annalists. Neither is it likely that this version stood in the Epitome at all, for Augustine, *De civ. Dei* 15, 5 says: *occisum Remum a fratre Romulo Romana testatur historia*. Drescher notes this passage and tries to explain it, but he does not consider Orosius, 2, 4, 2: *regnum continuo Romulus parricidio imbuat . . . interfecto primum avo Numitore dehinc Remo fratre*. In spite of the careless mistake *Numitor* for *Amulius*, we can not refuse to accept the plain statement in regard to the murder of Remus. Orosius and Augustine furnish stronger proof for the form of the Epitome than the authors cited by Drescher. Florus, 1, 1, 8 is in doubt which story to follow, having combined another source with the Epitome. As the version of Servius shows no verbal similarity with the others, Drescher's proof rests solely on the close agreement or rather identity of *Orig. gent. Rom.* with *De vir. ill.* But this very identity proves that the former copied the latter. The author of the *Origo* was an acknowledged forger, drawing his material from the latest sources including both *De vir. ill.* and Eutropius. Neither should the citation *historia Liviana* trouble us, for false citations are the rule in the *Origo*.

(2) In section 14 (p. 10) Drescher compares *De vir. ill.* 2, 13: *cum ad Caprae paludem exercitum lustraret, nusquam comparuit*; and Eutropius, 1, 2, 2: *et cum orta subito tempestate non comparuisset*. On this agreement he claims *nusquam comparuit* for the Epitome and, as the same expression occurs in Cicero, *De re p.* 2, 10, 17, he infers a common source for Cicero and the Epitome. But Livy (1, 16, 1) has the expression *conspectum eius contioni abstulerit* and with this agrees Florus, 1, 1, 16: *e conspectu ablatu est*. The natural explanation is that the Epitome was the intermediate source, but if so, the relationship of Eutropius and *De vir. ill.* must be otherwise explained, by no means a difficult task; for omitting the possibility that the Auctor

de vir. ill. borrowed the two words from Eutropius, we may either explain that the words were a direct verbal reminiscence from Cicero in both cases or that a common source other than the Epitome transferred the phrase. That these two authors have a related source differing from the Epitome I have pointed out in my earlier work (Quellencont. p. 30) and by a strange coincidence a work of Cicero (De senec. 4, 10) was the ultimate source that time.¹ The expressions were *Fabius Hannibalem mora fregit* in De vir. ill. 43, 2, Ampelius, 18, 6 and 46, 6 (Florus, 1, 22, 28 is similar) and in Eutropius, 3, 9, 3: *Is eum differendo pugnam ab impetu fregit*. Cicero moreover gives *Hannibalem . . . patientia sua mollebat*, while the verse of Ennius there quoted is similar in thought.

In the case under discussion the relationship of source may well be similar, though it applies only to the two words *nusquam comparuit*, for the rest agrees with Livy and hence probably with the Epitome. Also in Florus there is a plain case of combination of sources, as Drescher rightly pointed out, only it is not the expression *solis defectio* which came from the Epitome. According to Livy it was a storm and not an eclipse which occurred at the death of Romulus but the other story was so common that Florus did not need to refer to Cicero in order to learn it. Compare Seneca, Epis. mor. 18, 5, 3 (*Romulum perisse solis defectione*) for which Fenestella is cited as one of the authorities. The other passages cited by Drescher do not help his proof though Lampridius, Commod. 2, 2 (*in terris Romulus non apparuit*) is probably a reminiscence of the Epitome. Compare Livy, 1, 16, 1: *nec deinde in terris Romulus fuit*.

(3) In section 48 (p. 27)² the poetic word *funerare* is claimed for the Epitome on the ground of the agreement

¹ This was pointed out by one of my critics.

² This was also published at about the same time by Wölfflin, Archiv Lat. Lex. vol. 11 (1900), p. 514.

of Val. Max. 4, 4, 2 and Seneca, Dialog. 12, 12, 5. But the Periocha Liv. in describing the burial of the same Menenius has *publico impendio elatus est* following Livy, 2, 33, 11 (*extulit*). The most extensive and frequent user of the Epitome was the author of the Periochae, even though on some occasions he corrected manifest errors of his copy. Therefore against his plain testimony we have no right to accept a chance agreement of Seneca with Val. Max. as proof of the language of the Epitome, for Seneca may well have imitated Valerius and probably did in this case.

(4) In section 49 we find a comparison of Valerius, Lactantius and Livy, seeking to show that the former two were derived from the Epitome. Again the Periocha has been entirely disregarded, being in fact not even mentioned. However for a clear understanding of the passages I repeat them in full with the addition of enough others to show the relationship of the sources.

Val. Max. 1, 7, 4.	Lactantius, Inst. div. 2, 7, 20.	Macrobius, Sat. 1, 11, 3.
<p>Cum plebeis <i>quidam ludis pater familias per circum Flaminium, prius quam pompa induceretur, servum suum verberibus mulcatum sub furca ad supplicium egisset, T. Latino homini ex plebe Iuppiter in quiete praecepit ut consulibus diceret sibi praesultorem ludis circensibus proximis non placuisse; quae res nisi attenda ludorum instauratione explata esset, securitum</i></p>	<p>Tiberio namque Atinlo homini plebeio per quietem observatus esse Iuppiter dicitur et praecipisse, ut consulibus et senatui nuntiaret ludis Circensibus proximis praesultorem sibi displicuisse, quod Autronius Maximus quidam verberatum servum sub furca medio circo ad supplicium duzerat, ideoque ludos instaurari oportere; quod cum ille neclerisset, eodem die <i>fli-</i></p>	<p><i>Autronius quidam Maximus servum suum verberatum patibuloque constrictum ante spectaculi commissionem per circum egi: ob quam causam indignatus Iuppiter Annio cuidam per quietem imperavit ut senatui nuntiaret non sibi placuisse plenum crudelitatis admissum. quo dissimulante filium ipsius mors repentina consumpsit, ac post secundam denuntiatio-</i></p>

Val. Max. 1, 7, 4.

non mediocre *urbis periculum*. ille veritus ne cum aliquo incommodo suo *religione* summum implicaret imperium, silentium egit, e vestigioque *flitus* eius subita vi *morbi correptus* interlit. ipse etiam per quietem ab eodem deo interrogatus an *satis magnam poenam neglecti imperti sui pependisset*, in proposito perseverans *debilitate corporis solutus est* ac tum demum ex *consilio amicorum lecticula* ad tribunal *consulum* et inde ad *senatum perlatus* ordine totius casus sui *exposito* magna cum *omnium admiratione recuperata* membrorum *firmitate pedibus domum rediit*.

Livy, 2, 36.

Ludis mane *servum* quidam *pater familiae* nondum *commissio* spectaculo *sub furcam caesum* medio *egerat* circo: . . . T. Latino, de *plebe homini*,

Lactantius, Inst. div. 2, 7, 20.

um perdidisse, ipse autem gravi morbo esse *correptus*; et cum rursus eandem imaginem cerneret quaerentem *satis poenarum* pro *neglecto imperio pependisset*, *lectica delatus* ad *consules* et omni re in *senatu exposita* recepisse *corporis firmitatem suisque pedibus domum redisse*.

Cicero, De div. 1, 26, 55. = Caellus.

ludi . . . antequam fierent . . . *servus* per *circum*, cum *virgis caederetur*, *furcam* ferens *ductus* est. exim *cuidam rustico Romano* dormienti

Macrobius, Sat. 1, 11, 3.

nem ob eandem *neglegentiam* ipse quoque in *subitam corporis debilitatem solutus est*. sic *demum* ex *consilio amicorum lectica delatus* *senatui* retulit, et vix consummato sermone sine mora *recuperata* bona *valetudine curia pedibus* egressus est . . . isque *instauraticius* dictus est non a *patibulo* . . . sed a *redintegratione*, ut VARRONI placet.

Dionysius Hal. 7, 68, 3.

Τίτος Λατίνιος . . . αὐτομαγὸς . . . ζῶν ἐν ἀργῷ. οὗτος εἰς τὴν βουλήν ἐνεχθεὶς ἐφη δόξαι καθ' ἕνον ἐπιστάνα τὸν Καπιτώλιον Δία

Livy, 2, 36.

somnium fuit; *visus Iuppiter dicere sibi ludis praesentatorem displicuisse; nisi magnifice instaurantur il ludi periculum urbi fore; iret, ea consulibus nuntiaret. quamquam haud sane liber erat religione . . . timor vicit . . . magno illi ea cunctatio stetit; *flitium* namque intra paucos dies amisit . . . eadem . . . *obversata* species *visa* est rogitare, *satin* magnam spreti numinis haberet mercedem, . . . cunctantem . . . vis morbi adorta est debilitate subita . . . consilio propinquorum adhibito . . . in forum ad consules *lectica* defertur. inde in *curiam* iussu consulum *delatus* eadem illa cum patribus ingenti omnium admiratione *enarrasset*, ecce aliud miraculum . . . eum . . . *pedibus suis domum rediisse.**

Cicero, De div.
1, 26, 55. = Caellus.

visus est venire qui *diceret praesulem sibi non placuisse ludis* idque ab eodem iussum esse eum *secautui nuntiare*: *illum* non esse ausum. iterum esse idem iussum et monitum ne vim suam experiri vellet; ne tum quidem esse ausum. exim *flitium* eius esse mortuum, eandem in somnis admonitionem fuisse tertiam; tum illum etiam *debilem factum* rem ad amicos detulisse, quorum de sententia *lecticula in curiam esse delatum*, cumque senatui somnium *enarravisset, pedibus suis saluum revertisse.* . . . ludos *instauratos.*

Dionysius Hal.
7, 68, 3.

λέγειν αὐτῶν· Ἴθι Λατίνιε, καὶ λέγε τοῖς πολίταις, ὅτι μοι τῆς νεωστὶ πομπῆς τὸν ἡγούμενον ὀρχηστὴν οὐ καλὸν ἔδωκαν, ἰν' ἀναθῶνται τὰς ἑορτὰς καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐτέρας ἐπιτελέσωσιν. . . (disobedience . . . second dream with threat σὺν μεγάλῳ μαθήσεται κακῶ. second refusal; death of son; third dream; paralysis; goes to senate by advice of friends) . . . ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντα διεξῆλθεν ἀναστὰς ἐκ τοῦ κλινιδίου. . . ἀπήει τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ποσὶ δια τῆς πόλεως οἰκαδὲ ὑγιῆς. 69, 1: ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος . . . θεράποντα . . . δι' ἀγορᾶς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε μαστιγοῦμενον ἔλκειν . . . ξαίνοντες μάστιγι.

Per. Liv. 2: *T. Latinius, vir de plebe, cum in visu admonitus ut de quibusdam religionibus ad senatum perferret id*

neglexisset, amisso filio pedibus debilis factus, postquam delatus ad senatum lectica eadem illa indicaverat, usu pedum recepto domum reversus est.

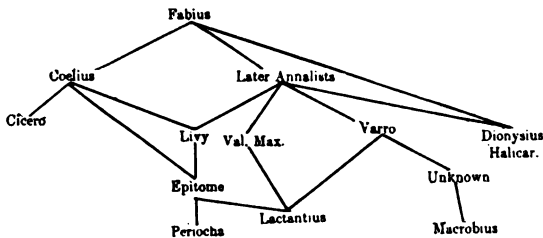
I have indicated the similarities by italics in the Latin and by spaced type in the Greek and it will, I think, be apparent to anyone that all the passages are related in source. The Periocha shows most nearly the form of the Epitome. We see from this that the Epitomator adopted quite a number of words or expressions from Livy but yet has Latinus report his dream to the senate as ordered by the vision though Livy says it was to the consuls. But Coelius-Cicero, Varro-Macrobius and Dionysius all name the senate, so this may be considered as a correction of the Epitome. We may also compare *debilem factum* and *revertisse* in Coelius-Cicero with the same words in the Periocha while Livy has the noun *debilitas* in the first case and *redisse* in the second. Thus it is possible that the Epitome was influenced by Cicero or Coelius. Of the later writers only Lactantius shows likeness to the Periocha and he only in a few phrases. We may compare Lact. *cum ille neglexisset*, Per. *id neglexisset*, Lact. *filium perdidisse*, Per. *filio amisso* and also *recepisse* in Lactantius with *usu pedum recepto* of the Per. In all these cases the others have different verbs. Also add that Lactantius gives a combined version of the command of the god; viz. that the report should be made to the consuls and to the senate. It would seem from this that the Epitome was a secondary source for Lactantius, while in Val. Max. none of the words appear, which are characteristic of the Epitome. This is enough to show how futile is Drescher's attempt to make the Epitome the only or chief source of both these authors.

In trying to determine the real sources we must first note that Cicero cites Coelius as his authority but says that Fabius and Gellius gave about the same. Also Macrobius cites Varro at the close of his passage and while he did not use him directly, it seems quite certain that Varro was

the primary source of this version. Yet neither Varro nor Coelius could have been source for all the others. The closest verbal agreement comes between Macrobius and Lactantius, in giving the name of the owner of the slave; Macrobius, *Autronius quidam Maximus servum suum verberatum*; Lactantius, *Autronius Maximus quidam verberatum servum*. We observe also that the name of the plebeian reporting the dream is elsewhere *T. Latinus* but in Lactantius, *Tiberius Atinius* and in Macrobius, *Annius*. In view of the other agreement in name it seems best to correct this one in Macrobius to *Atinius*, for the form of the name in Lactantius is the easier corruption for Latinus and is besides defended by another passage in the *Divinae Institutiones* (2, 16, 11). In the other passages of Macrobius and Lactantius, which show resemblance, sometimes one, sometimes the other approaches more closely to the versions in the other authors. From this it is clear that one source of Lactantius was identical with the source of Macrobius (Varro?). We have already shown that Lactantius was indebted to the *Epitome*, but there are further at least three passages in which he used Valerius Maximus directly; viz. *ludis Circensibus proximis praesultorem, sub furca ad supplicium, and satisne poenarum pro neglecto imperio pependisset*. Thus the combination of three sources by Lactantius is made fairly certain and these should be enough to account for all his statements except those due to his own carelessness. An example of this is found in the number and arrangement of the dreams. The original order represented by Dionysius and Coelius-Cicero was: first dream, second dream, death of son, third dream, sickness of Latinus. But Varro-Macrobius, Livy and Valerius Maximus agree on a different form: first dream, death of son, second dream, sickness. Lactantius stands alone in placing the death of the son and sickness of Latinus between the two dreams.

The close relationship of all the versions is best illustrated by the last part of the story describing the return home. Dionysius gives us the complete form, for with the *recuperata corporis firmitate* of the Latin versions we may compare the less exact ἀληθόνων ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, which is further explained by ἀναστὰς ἐκ τοῦ κλιιδίου, but more especially note ὑγιής equal *salvum* of Coelius-Cicero, and ἀπήει τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ποσὶ οἴκιθε, where the Latin has *pedibus suis domum redisse*. Dionysius is thus related both to the Coelian or earlier annalistic version and also to the later annalistic. In Livy too we must admit a certain amount of combination of sources, for though the general form of his version is the later annalistic, yet in some words and expressions he has imitated the Coelian. Among these we may compare particularly the word *caesum* of the first part of Livy's version with *cum virgis caederetur* of Coelius, though the other versions have *verberatum*.

We learn from Cicero that this story appeared first in Fabius, so the general arrangement of sources for the authors above discussed must be somewhat as follows:



(5) In section 53 Drescher derives from the Epitome the following passages; Eutropius, 1, 16, 3: *unus omnino superfuit ex tanta familia, qui propter aetatem puerilem duci non potuerat ad pugnam*; Serv. ad Aeneid. 6, 845: *unus tantum superfuit, Fabius Maximus, qui propter teneram adhuc pueritiam in civitate remanserat*. Yet he fails to note that Servius gives the number of Fabii slain at 306, but Eutropius at 300. This is not a careless statement by

Eutropius, but many other writers¹ agree with him. On the other hand the agreement of Livy, 2, 49, 4, Per. Liv. 2, Orosius, 2, 5, 9 and De vir. ill. 14 makes it clear that the Epitome made the number 306. But both the Periocha and Orosius allow one of these 306 to escape instead of having one left at home. They thus contradict Eutropius and Servius, with whom however on this point Auctor de vir. ill. agrees. We can not avoid the conclusion that the Periocha and Orosius are here indebted to the Epitome, so Eutropius and Servius can not be, at least for the contradictory statement. On account of the absurd mistake Fabius *Maximus*, Servius is to be compared with De vir. ill. *unus ex ea gente propter impuberem aetatem domi relictus genus propagavit ad Q. Fabium Maximum*. On account of the closer verbal agreement of Servius and Eutropius and the uncertain date of the Auctor de vir. ill., I prefer to think that the biographical source of the latter had the same statement about Fabius *Maximus* and was misunderstood by Servius when he copied it. Eutropius was related to this biographical source, as we have seen above p. 14. This source was in turn indebted either to Livy, 2, 50, 11 or better to Ovid, *Fasti* 2, 235, where the same reference to Fabius *Maximus* occurs.

(6) In section 54 Drescher finds that the agreement of De vir. ill. and the Schol. ad Juvenal. proves the form of the Epitome for the story of Virginia. As in the other cases let us compare also all the known imitators of the Epitome:

Per. Liv. 3.	Orosius, 2, 13, 6.	Eutropius, 1, 18.
<i>libido Ap. Claudii qui cum in amorem Virginiae virginis incidisset, summisso, qui eam in servitu-</i>	<i>Appii Claudii libido . . . qui ut Vergintae virgini stuprum inferret, prius servitutis causam intulit;</i>	<i>Ap. Claudius Virgini culusdam, qui honestis iam stipendiis contra Latinos in monte Algidio mili-</i>

¹ As Florus, 1, 6, 2; Ampelius, 20, 2; Val. Max. 9, 11, ext. 4; Seneca, De ben. 4, 80, 2 etc. These also imply the Epitome as source so there were perhaps variant versions of the same.

Per. Liv. 3.

tem peteret, necessitatem patri eius Virginio inposuit. raptō ex taberna proxima cultro *filiam* occidit, cum aliter effici non posset *ne* in potestatem *stuprum* inlaturi veniret. hoc tam magnae luxuriae exemplo plebs concitata *montem Aventinum occupavit* coegitque *decemviros* abdicare se *magistratu*, ex quibus Appius, qui praecipue poenam meruerat, *in carcerem* coniectus est, ceteri in *exsilium* sunt acti.

Florus, 1, 17 (24, 2).

Appius . . . ut ingenuam virginem stupro destinaret. . . itaque cum oppressam iudicio filiam trahi *in servitutem* videret *Virginius pater*, nihil cunctatus in medio foro manu sua interfecit, . . . dominationem obsessam armis *in carcerem . . . ab Aventino monte* detraxit.

Orosius, 2, 13, 6.

quamobrem adactus *Verginius pater* dolore libertatis et pudore dedecoris protractam ad *servitutem* filiam in conspectu populi pius parricida prostravit. qua populus necessitatis atrocitate permotus et periculo libertatis admonitus *montem Aventinum occupavit armatus*. nec tueri libertatem armis destitit, nisi postquam se coniuratorum conspiratio ipsis quoque honoribus *abdica*vit.

De vir. ill. 21.

Ap. Claudius Verginiam Verginii centurionis filiam *in Algidō militantis* adamavit. quam cum *corrumpere* non posset, clientem subornavit, qui eam *in servitium* deposceret . . . pater re cognita . . . quum eam in secretum abduxisset, *occidit . . . et milites . . . accendit*: qui . . . *Aventinum occuparunt decemviros abdicare se magistratu* praeceperunt eosque omnes aut morte aut *exsilio* punierunt. Appius Claudius in carcere necatus est.

Entropius, 1, 18.

tarat, Aliam virginem corrumpere voluit: *quam pater occidit, ne stuprum a decemviro* sustineret, et regressus ad milites movit tumultum. Sublata est *decemviris* potestas ipsique *damnati* sunt.

Schol. Juv. 10, 294.

Virginiam Appius decemvir adamatam clienti, quem ob hoc subornaverat, in servitutem addixerat, propter quod eam pater Virginius interemit, decemviris Imperium abrogatum, Appius in carcere necatus est.

We may also compare Sueton. Tib. 2 especially with Florus:

Claudius . . . virginem ingenuam per vim libidinis gratia in servitutem asserere conatus . . .

The italicised words I claim for the Epitome, so it is certain that it was one of the sources for the Auct. de vir. ill. On the other hand the scholiast to Juvenal can not have used the Epitome, for of the many expressions shown to belong to that work, only one appears in the scholium, and that is the phrase *in servitutem* which is a natural expression for an indispensable part of the story. The many resemblances between De vir. ill. and the Schol. Juv. also show a common source, as Hildesheimer¹ long ago pointed out and we can now give an adequate explanation of all the peculiarities on the theory that the Auct. de vir. ill. combined with the Epitome also the source of the scholiast to Juvenal.

(7) In section 55 the close agreement of Val. Max. 3, 2, 4 and De vir. ill. 25 is noted and referred to the Epitome by Drescher. The two passages are certainly from the same source but this is utterly foreign both to Livy and the Epitome, for they both make Cossus a master of horse when he wins the *spolia opima*, while Livy and the Per. make him military tribune. Also the notable verbal agreement of Valerius and De vir. ill. *spolia opima secundus a Romulo consecravit*, was otherwise expressed by the Epitomator.

Compare Livy, 4, 20, 5: A. Cornelium Cossum tribunum militum secunda spolia opima Iovis Feretrii templo *intulisse*;

Per. 4: Cossus Cornelius tribunus militum occiso Tolumnio Veientum rege opima spolia secunda *retulit*;

Florus, 1, 6, 9: spolia de Larte Tolumnio rege ad Feretrium *reportata*.

¹De libro qui inscribitur de viris ill. urbis Romae, Berlin, 1880, p. 47. Compare also Vinkesteyn, De fontibus libri de vir. ill. Leyden, 1886, p. 77 for discussion of earlier sources of the Virginia story.

Florus has placed this statement at too late a place in his work, but its resemblance to Livy and the Per. is close enough to establish the source; compare also Ampelius, 21: *qui spolia opima rettulerunt . . . Cossus Cornelius de Larie Tolumnio Veientum rege*; Servius ad Aen. 6, 841: *Cossus tribunus militaris . . . Laritem Tolumnium occidit et [secunda post Romulum] opima spolia revocavit.*

The fault of Drescher in the seven passages above discussed is that he has based his conclusions on an agreement between too small a number of authors, often contenting himself with an agreement between two, and that too without raising the question, whether the one might have borrowed from the other. There are also many other passages in his work, where an agreement of only two authors is used as proof of the use of the Epitome. But such an agreement can be considered as valid proof only in case no other relationship of sources is possible except that through the Epitome. A good example of such a case is Drescher § 52, where Valerius Maximus, 5, 5, 2 and Orosius, 2, 5, 7 are compared. In almost all the other cases, where he infers the wording of the Epitome from the agreement of only two writers, I am unable to follow him, though I do not deny that in many of the cases one or the other of the authors may show the influence of the Epitome even though combined with other matter. For these reasons I am obliged to reject Drescher's conclusions in respect to the following passages:

Drescher § 10, agreement of Florus,	1, 1, 11	and Orosius,	2, 4, 7.
“ § 18,	“ “	1, 1, (3, 3)	“ 2, 4, 9.
“ § 26,	“ “	1, 1, (5, 5)	“ 2, 4, 11.
“ § 34,	“ “	1, 1, (7, 5)	“ 2, 4, 12.
“ § 44,	“ “	1, 4, 1	“ 2, 5, 3.
“ § 75,	“ “	1, 11, 12	“ 3, 15, 10.
“ § 79,	“ “	1, 13, 7	“ 4, 1, 8.
“ § 84,	“ “	1, 18, (2, 2, 7)	“ 4, 7, 8.
“ § 91,	“ “	1, 22, 37; 33, 7	“ 4, 18, 1.

That Florus was one of the sources of Orosius has been proved often, but it is perhaps best shown by a comparison of the parallel passages cited in the footnotes of Zange-meister's edition of Orosius. Therefore in all cases where the verbal agreement is especially marked, we must suppose Florus the source, unless we can find the same expression in some other representative of the Epitome. In such cases not even the appearance of additional statements in Orosius is sufficient to prove that he did not use Florus for those words which agree, for his tendency to combine sources has been fully proved.

On this basis I reject Drescher's arguments also in the following sections:

§ 12, agreement of Florus,	1, 1, 13	and August. De civ. Dei	3, 13.
§ 86,	" "	1, 22, 6	" " 3, 20.
§ 3,	" "	1, 1, 6	and Origo gent. Rom. 23.
§ 45,	" of Eutropius,	1, 12	" Orosius, 2, 5, 4.

Another class of doubtful proofs used by Drescher includes agreements between two such authors as are known to have had another common source besides the Epitome. His failure to consider this alternative explanation deprives of all value his conclusions in regard to these seven passages:

Drescher § 8, agreement of Florus,	1, 1, 10	and De vir. ill.	2, 1.
" § 13,	" "	1, 1, 14	" " 2, 10.
" § 17,	" "	1, 1, (3, 1)	" " 4, 1.
" § 23,	" "	1, 1, (5, 1)	" " 6, 5.
" § 46,	" "	1, 5, 2	" " 16, 1.
" § 64,	" "	1, 17, (26, 2)	" " 20.
" § 94,	" "	1, 22, 54	" " 48, 4.
" § 65,	" "	Val. Max. 8, 6, 3	" " 20, 4.

To complete our review of Drescher's dissertation it is now necessary to enumerate the sections, in which he has correctly inferred the influence of the Epitome, but has

left one or more of the imitators unmentioned. As above I shall take up these passages according to the section-numbers of Drescher, repeating the citations given by him and adding my new parallels with the words showing influence of the Epitome in italics.

Drescher § 7: Eutrop. 1, 2, 1; Lactant. Inst. div. 2, 6, 13. Add Florus, 1, 1, 15: *consilium rei publicae penes senes esset, qui ex auctoritate patres, ob aetatem senatus vocabantur*; Velleius Patere. 1, 8, 6: *hic centum homines electos, appellatosque patres instar habuit consilii*; De vir. ill. 2, 11: *centum senatores a pietate patres appellavit*; Per. Liv. 1 a: *senatus lectus*.

Drescher § 11; compare my article on the myth of Tarpeia p. 12 for additions and full discussion.

Drescher § 16: Florus, 1, 1, 17; Per. Liv. 1, a; Eutrop. 1, 2, 2; Augustine, De civ. Dei 2, 17. Add De vir. ill. 3: *post consecrationem Romuli*.

Drescher § 35. Discussed below p. 189.

Drescher § 61; Florus, 1, 7, 15; De vir. ill. 24, 4; Servius ad Aeneid. 8, 652. Add Vegetius, De re militari 4, 26: *nisi clamore (clangore?) anserum excitatus Mallius restitisset*.

Drescher § 66; *in singulare certamen* claimed for the Epitome is further supported by Orosius, 3, 6, 2: *Manlius Torquatus singulariter . . .*

Drescher § 67; Per. Liv. 7; De vir. ill. 29, 2; Florus, 1, 8; Eutrop. 2, 6, 2; Ampelius, 22, 2. Add Quintilian, Inst. orat. 2, 4, 18: *super caput Valerii pugnantis sedisse corvum, qui os oculosque hostis Galli rostro atque alis everberaret*.

Drescher § 73; Val. Max. 7, 2, ext. 17; De vir. ill. 30, 4. Add Florus, 1, 11, 10: *Pontius Herennium patrem consuluit et ille mitteret omnes vel occideret sapienter suaserat*; Orosius, 3, 15, 3: *ut Herennium patrem consulandum putaret utrum occideret clausos an parceret, subiugatis*.

Drescher § 76; see below p. 239.

Drescher § 85; see below p. 189.

Drescher § 93; Florus, 1, 22, 50; De vir. ill. 48, 1; Ampel. 18, 12.

We may perhaps add Suetonius, Tib. 2: Nero advenientem ex Hispania cum ingentibus copiis Hasdrubalem, priusquam *Annibali fratri coniungeretur*, oppressit;

Frontinus, 1, 1, 9: Claudius Nero cum *e re publica esset Hasdrubalem* copiasque eius antequam *Hannibali fratri iungerentur* excidi.

Drescher § 98; see below p. 216.

Drescher § 102; Per. Liv. 39; De vir. ill. 42, 6; Eutrop. 4, 5, 2; Ampelius, 34, 2; Obsequens, 4; Cassiodorus, 571. Add Orosius, 4, 20, 29: Hannibal apud *Prusiam Bithyniae regem*, cum a Romanis *reposceretur, veneno se necavit*.

Note the verb *reposcere* in support of *exposcere* in Per. Liv. and Ampelius, though both Eutropius and De vir. ill. have *repetere*. The latter word was either due to manuscript variation in the Epitome or the Auctor de vir. ill. wrote it under the influence of Eutropius.

It must not be inferred, from the criticisms offered in the preceding pages, that the contributions examined seem to me without merit. They contain much that is of value, and the mistakes are in general due to the failure to find all the passages supposedly indebted to the Epitome for any particular thought or word. To this error all are equally liable, and I can not assume that my own material is entirely complete, even though the works above treated have brought to my attention practically no new examples. My purpose has been to make my material practically complete for the passages which I discuss; where I fail, I hope my critics will make the needed additions or point out mistakes. It is only by united and repeated efforts that final results can be reached in regard to the form and influence of the Epitome of Livy.

B. UNSOLVED PROBLEMS.

Before entering upon the systematic treatment of my subject, it seems advisable to touch briefly on certain topics which I have preferred to exclude from the general discussion. First among these is the language of the Epitome. Already in my Quellencontamination I pointed out some marks of Silver Latinity and additions have been made by Wölfflin and Drescher; yet the sum total is still surprisingly small. Should we on the other hand review all the passages where the Epitome reproduced or only slightly remodeled the language of Livy, we should find a goodly number. In this fact lies a warning for the future investigator. The Epitome must not be considered an example of the fully developed Silver Latin. Whether we ascribe this to the early date of the author or to the unconscious influence of the work he was epitomizing, the result and the warning will be the same. We should not therefore be overhasty in ascribing any newly coined word or late construction to the Epitome, especially if any of its imitators have preserved the Livian expression; for it may be that the late word or construction agreed in by two or three late historians, is merely a mark of their period and does not presuppose a common source.

A good example of such a case is the verb *funerare* which I rejected from the language of the Epitome on p. 15 above.

Similarly unsound is the attempt of Drescher (p. 21) to claim for the Epitome the ablative *anno*, answering the question how long. His proof is the agreement of Per. Liv. 2 and De vir. ill. 10, 7, while Eutropius, 1, 10 repeats the *annum* of Livy. The perfect agreement of the three passages in other respects makes it certain that the Epitome was the source of all, so that we have to choose between the two possibilities, either that Eutropius corrected to the more classical accusative an ablative, which could not have seemed wrong to a writer of the fourth century, or that the

authors of the *Periochae* and the *De vir. ill.* followed the tendencies of their time rather than a particular source in writing the ablative. The latter of these alternatives seems to me the more natural.

These two examples at least suggest the difficulties which await the investigator of the language of the *Epitome*. The chief difficulty however is the lack of any considerable number of passages showing the exact form of the *Epitome*. For a careful discussion of the language we need much more material, and for this reason I shall in the remainder of this article devote my attention to the securing of parallel passages showing influence of the *Epitome* and to the discovery of the relationship of these passages to one another. Incidentally many words and phrases belonging to the *Epitome* will be noted in the passages handled, but the full discussion of these from a linguistic point of view seems to me at present premature.

Another question which might seem to demand a special and separate discussion is the combination of sources among the later historians. Yet while it is always necessary to admit the possibility of an author so treating his sources, a full discussion of the matter is hardly cognate to this subject. I shall therefore confine my remarks on this topic to the individual discussion of the passages, in which the combination of sources can be shown.

I. DIFFERENT FORMS OF THE PERIOCHAE.

Attention has often been called to the fact that for the first book of Livy the *Periocha* has been preserved in two forms; 1 a, consisting of mere titles or headings but extending over the whole book and 1 b, giving much fuller statements but covering only the period from the middle of the reign of Ancus Marcius to the expulsion of the Kings. Per. 1 b is plainly of the same character and origin as the *Periochae* of the other books, while Per. 1 a belongs to a

class by itself. It is the origin of this and its relation to Per. 1 b, which I propose to discuss. Not to my knowledge has this question been raised since the time of Jahn, who in the preface to his edition of the Periochae of Livy and the *liber prodigiorum* of Obsequens p. 10 held that Per. 1 a was the only surviving example of the original form of the Periochae, while the preserved Periochae were formed by additions to and elaborations of this brief original by later scholars and copyists. This view was necessarily abandoned when the uniform style and single authorship of the Periochae was proved by Wölfflin in the *Com. phil. in hon. Mommseni* p. 340. Accordingly we may now consider the field open for further conjectures.

In the first place the fact that the beginning of Per. 1 b is lacking proves conclusively that Per. 1 a was added by some copyist of the middle ages in order to complete a copy of the Periochae which through age and use had lost the whole or a part of the first leaf. We may also assume as certain that the copyist was not the author of Per. 1 a, for if he had completed the mutilated MS. from his own knowledge of some other MS. of the same work or of the first book of the entire Livy, he would have merely filled out the missing portion down to the middle of the reign of Ancus. The copyist must therefore have had before him another MS. of the Periochae in briefer form and presumably complete for all the books of Livy, though we cannot of course prove any such assertion. From this manuscript he completed his fragmentary manuscript in the most superficial manner possible by copying off the entire Periocha for the first book.

Per. 1 a and 1 b both exist in unvaried form¹ in the MSS. Guelferbitanus of the 15th century and Nazarianus of the 9th century; so both versions of the Periochae are earlier

¹ The combined and interpolated version of Per. 1 found in the *Editio princeps Romana* is to be ascribed to the editor of the same.

than this date. The composition of the work as a whole is generally placed in the fourth century A. D. on the ground of the language. Per. 1 a or rather the version of the Periochae which it represents can not well be older than that date, if we may judge from its briefer character; but it must on the other hand have originated a long time before the ninth century, in fact probably as early as the fifth.

Accepting then the existence at sometime before the ninth century of a version of the Periochae briefer than the one now known, the question arises, what was its origin? Was it abbreviated from the existing Periochae or from the Epitome or from the entire Livy? This question can, I think, be positively answered on ground of the internal evidence of the small portion preserved to us. If we compare carefully the parallel portions of Per. 1 a and 1 b, we find that in spite of the greater completeness of Per. 1 b there are the following phrases in Per. 1 a for which 1 b could not have been the source:

- 1) (Tarquinius Priscus) finitimos devicit.
- 2) Servius Tullius Veientes devicit et populum in classes divisit.
- 3) Turnus Herdonius per Tarquinium occisus.
- 4) Fraude Sexti Tarquini Gabii derepti.
- 5) Termini et Iuventae arae moveri non potuerunt.
- 6) Regnatum est annis † CCLV.

Neither could these additions or changes have come from the entire Livy, as they agree in various points with the other descendants of the Epitome in opposition to the entire Livy. Thus with No. 5 compare Florus, 1, 1 (7, 9): *restitere Iuventas et Terminus*; Livy, 1, 55, 4 omits the name Iuventas, though he inserts it in a speech of Camillus given later (5, 54, 7). This must have been due to an annalistic source, probably the one which later influenced the Epitomator to insert the name.

For No. 4, Per. 1 b has *dolo* instead of *fraude* and omits the name of Sextus, while Livy (1, 53, 4) has *fraude ac dolo*

though applied to Tarquin the father. Orosius, 2, 4, 12 gives *fraude* alone also applied to the father. Still more decisive is the evidence of No. 2, for with the first half we can compare Orosius, 2, 4, 11: *Veientes Servio Tullio insistente victos* and with the last half Florus, 1, 1 (6, 3): *ab hoc (Serv. Tull.) populus Romanus . . . digestus in classes*. For both these statements there is abundant foundation in Livy but the wording is each time different. Cf. Livy, 1, 42, 3: *fusoque ingenti hostium (Etruscorum) exercitu*; and 1, 42, 5: *tum classes centuriasque et hunc ordinem ex censu descripsit*.

With the expression in the Per. we can also compare De vir. ill. 7, 5: *Etruscos saepe domuit, collem Quirinalem et Viminalem et Esquilias urbi addidit*; for while the first statement agrees with Per. 1 a, the second is a duplicate of Per. 1 b: *colles urbi adiecit Quirinalem, Viminalem, Esquilinum*. Also Eutropius, 1, 7, 1: *montes tres, Quirinalem, Viminalem, Esquilinum urbi adiunxit*. Livy, 1, 44, 3 is a little different: *addit duos colles, Quirinalem Viminalemque; inde deinceps auget Esquilias*. Also addition No. 1 (*Tarquin. finitimos devicit*) finds its parallel in Orosius, 2, 4, 11: *Tarquinium Priscum omnes finitimos . . . concidisse*, though Livy, 1, 36, 1 states that the war was with the Sabines and does not specially describe them as neighbors. Addition No. 3 concerning Turnus Herdonius gives no evidence as it does not appear in any other certain descendent of the Epitome, though found in Livy. I have also omitted discussion of No. 6 (duration of royal rule) as the number is manifestly corrupt.

There are further certain passages in which both Per. 1a and 1b show indebtedness to the Epitome, and in some of these Per. 1a is the more closely related to the other descendants of the Epitome. As examples compare the following passages:

1) Per. 1a.

Tarquinius Priscus *Latinos* superavit, *circum* fecit, finitimos devicit, *muros et cloacas* fecit . . . *Capitolium inchoatum*.¹

Eutropius, 1, 6.²

circum Romae aedificavit, ludos Romanos instituit . . . vicit Sabinos . . . primusque triumphans urbem intravit, muros fecit et cloacas, Capitolium inchoavit.

Per. 1b.

Latinos subegit, *ludos* in circo edidit . . . *urbem muro circumdedit, cloacas fecit.*

De vir. ill. 6, 8.³

Latinos bello domuit, *circum maximum aedificavit, ludos magnos instituit, de Sabinis et priscis Latinis triumphavit, murum lapideum urbi circumdedit.*

Note especially that Per. 1a mentions the building of the Circus Maximus and 1b the establishment of the games, while Eutropius gives both. In regard to the city wall Per. 1b and De vir. ill. represent the version of the Epitome more truly. The fact that both Per. 1a and Eutropius have shortened the statement to the single word *muros* can hardly be considered of importance, as both writers were striving after extreme brevity.

2) Per. 1a.³

Tarquinius Superbus occiso Tullio regnum invasit.

De vir. ill. 8, 1.

Tarquinius Superbus . . . occiso Servio Tullio regnum scelestè occupavit.

Orosius, 2, 4, 12.

Tarquini Superbi regnum occisi soceri scelere adsumptum.

3) Per. 1a.

Lucretia se occidit.

Per. 1b.

L. Tarquinius Superbus neque patrum neque populi iussu regnum invasit.

Eutropius, 1, 7.

Servius Tullius . . . occisus est scelere generi sui Tarquini Superbi.

Florus, 1, 1 (7, 2).

scelere partam potestatem.

Per. 1b.

Lucretia cultro se interfecit.

¹ This is erroneously placed under the later Tarquin.

² Referred to the Epitome by Drescher, p. 15.

³ Cf. Drescher, p. 17.

De vir. ill. 9.

Eutropius, 1, 8, 2.

se cultro, quem veste texerat, (Lucretia) se occidit.
occidit.

Livy, 1, 58, 11: *cultrum, quem sub veste abditum habebat, eum in corde defigit.*

Per. 1b has preserved *cultro* omitted in 1a, but perhaps changed the verb. Compare below p. 189.

The preceding examples have clearly shown that the Periochae 1a and 1b were independently derived from the Epitome, but for the sake of completeness I call attention again to a few examples of the influence of the Epitome found in the first part of Per. 1a:

- 1) *senatus lectus*. See above p. 171.
- 2) *Romulus consecratus*. See above p. 171.
- 3) *Tullus fulmine consumptus*. Cf. Ay, p. 24 and below p. 196.

II. VARIATIONS IN THE FORM OF THE EPITOME.

The proof just given of the existence of two separate and independent Periochae for the first book of Livy and the natural inference, that a similar second version existed at one time for the other books, leads us naturally to the question regarding different versions or variant forms of the Epitome.

That the imitators of the Epitome should differ much is not strange, for each of these authors possessed a certain amount of independence of thought as well as a definite literary style. But even because of the independence and individuality of such changes, if two or more of the imitators of the Epitome show the same divergence from its established form as found in the other descendants, then the necessary inference is that these imitators used a common work which had been changed, rewritten or abbreviated from the Epitome. Furthermore we can prove no more from a single divergence from the accepted form of the

Epitome, than that it had been changed in this one statement, before these two or more later writers used it. We have no right to assume that a few such changes imply a revision of the entire Epitome, or even that the later authors in question obtained the change from the Epitome at all. It is true that we find many passages where two or more later historians differ from the accepted version of Roman history, but this may be explained in many ways. Often the change is so great that we can be sure that the common source is not directly related to the Epitome, while in other cases the resemblance of the two or more authors is so decided, that one of them must be considered the source of the others. When, however, one or more of the authors have combined this foreign material with statements drawn directly from the Epitome, the question becomes much more puzzling.

Such a manifestation as this led me astray in my former discussion of the relation of Eutropius, Orosius and the *Comment. Bern. ad Lucanum*,¹ and part of the evidence, which induced Reinhold, in the paper discussed above, to invent an intermediate source between the Epitome and the later authors Eutropius, Festus, Cassiodorus, and Obsequens, is of the same character. Of the eight passages, which he discusses (pp. 8 and 9) to prove this assumption, No. 6, comparing Orosius, 6, 18, 23, *Per. Liv.* 128, Eutropius, 7, 5, 2 and Festus, 18; No. 7, comparing Orosius, 6, 13, 5, *Per. Liv.* 108, Eutropius, 6, 18, 2 and Festus, 17; No. 8, comparing Orosius, 6, 4, 3-5, *Per. Liv.* 101 and 102, Eutropius, 6, 12-14 and Festus, 16 are plainly of this type, for in all the passages Festus is directly influenced by Eutropius, though also acquainted with the Epitome.

¹ Cf. *Quellencont.* p. 21. The correct explanation is that Orosius combined statements from the Epitome and from Eutropius, while the scholiast abbreviated Orosius to such an extent as to omit all the Eutropean statements and some besides.

The passages discussed in Reinhold's five other proofs are much more interesting and deserve special treatment in this chapter. In No. 5 he notes that *Per. Liv.* 1b agrees with *Livy*, 1. 60, 3 in giving the length of the rule of *Tarquinius Superbus* as 25 years, while *Eutropius*, 1, 8, 3 and *Festus*, 2 give it as 24 years; furthermore the number in *Eutropius* and *Festus* is supported by the fact that they both make the sum total of royal rule at Rome 243 years, though *Livy* makes it 244. But Reinhold does not note that *Orosius* (2, 4, 13) and *Augustine* (*De civ. Dei* 3, 15) give the same number of years (243) for the rule of the kings; so we have the case of a difference between the *Per. Liv.* and all the other known representatives of the *Epitome*.

In my *Quellencontamination* (p. 28) I have discussed this divergence of statement, together with two others, as instances, where the author of the *Periochæ* corrected, by reference to the entire *Livy*, the statements which he drew from the *Epitome*. I see no reason for abandoning this position, though the possibility that some copyist or user of the *Epitome* made these corrections in the manuscript later employed by the author of the *Periochæ* can not be denied. Of similar character are three other passages given by Reinhold among his proofs of the lost *Chronicon*.

In No. 1 he notes that *Eutropius*, 2, 3, 1, *Festus*, 2, 3 and *Cassiodorus*, 362 state that there were no curule magistrates at Rome for the period of four years, while *Livy*, 6, 35, 10 and *Per. Liv.* 6 give the length of time when there were no magistrates as five years. Reinhold might have added *Vopiscus*, *Tacitus* 1, 5, *Idatius*, 362 and *Dio Cassius* in *Zonaras*, 7, 24, who also give the interregnum at four years. Again all the descendants of the *Epitome*, which give the number, differ from *Livy* except the *Periocha*. The implication is that the author of the later corrected the statement of the *Epitome* by reference to the entire *Livy*.

Similar is Reinhold's proof No. 2, in which he notes that Per. Liv. 3 agrees with Livy, 3, 34 ff. in extending the rule of the decemvirs into the third year, while Eutropius, 1, 18 and Festus, 2, 3 limit it to two. Orosius, 2, 13 omits the number of years, yet his version is not incompatible with the restriction of the decemviral rule to two years, so his close resemblance to the Periochae in other respects proves nothing.

Proof No. 3 of Reinhold is still less decisive. It is probable that Per. Liv. 4 agrees with Livy, 4, 6, 8 in substituting military tribunes for consuls during certain years between 438 and 392 B. C., while Cassiodorus and Eutropius omit all mention of them. In Cassiodorus, who gives a complete list of the consuls, this omission is noteworthy, but the omission of them in Eutropius proves no more than the same omission in Orosius; for both authors omitted so many years, in which nothing important occurred, that this procedure can not be considered as evidence in regard to their source. We find no evidence of this omission in the other users of the Epitome, so we are forced to leave undecided the question of the appearance or non-appearance in the Epitome of the early rule of the military tribunes. Cassiodorus may have himself omitted them or the author of the Periochae reinstated them by reference to the entire Livy.

Of Reinhold's eight proofs of a lost Chronicon we have only No. 4 left. In this he notes that Eutropius, Festus and Cassiodorus, in describing the capture of Rome by the Gauls, state that Camillus followed and defeated the Gauls after they had received the gold for the ransom of the Capitol, though Per. Liv. 5 agrees with Livy in having Camillus arrive before the gold is paid over. He also states on the authority of Zangemeister (Epit. Liv. p. 97) that Orosius agrees with the Periocha, which is true as regards the rest of the description of the capture, but not true for the point in question. Orosius, 2, 19, 9-10 states that the

Gauls received the gold and withdrew (so also 3, 1, 1); no mention is made of Camillus. So we must class Orosius with Eutropius, Festus and Cassiodorus, while admitting that he left out the important part of the description. However we can not in this case solve the difficulty by the explanation that the author of the Periochæ corrected the Epitome by reference to the entire Livy, for the same version is found in three other probably independent imitators of the Epitome, Florus, De vir. ill. and Appian. Likewise Plutarch, Camill. 29, Polyænus, 8, 7, 2, Zonaras, 7, 23 and Frontinus, 3, 15, 1 present the same version of the story but are probably to be referred to the entire Livy.¹ On the other hand with the opposing version of Eutropius etc. we may compare also Servius ad Aeneid. Thus we have on one side five authors against four on the other, all apparently indebted to the Epitome.

First let us compare all the passages in order to see whether the Epitome is directly or indirectly the source.

Eutropius, 1, 20, 2.

Galli Senones ad urbem venerunt et victos Romanos . . . apud flumen Alliam secuti etiam urbem occupaverunt. neque defendi quicquam nisi Capitolium potuit; quod cum diu obsedissent etiam Romani fame laborarent, accepto auro, . . . recesserunt. sed a Camillo, . . . Gallis superventum est gravissimeque victi sunt, postea . . . secutus eos Camillus ita cecidit, ut et aurum . . . et omnia . . . militaria signa revocaret . . . triumphans . . .

Festus, 6, 1.

ut Romam ipsam bello peterent, caesis exercitibus Romanis moenia urbis intrarent, Capitolium obsiderent, ad cuius arcem seculenti nobilissimi senatores confugerant; qui M auri libris se ab obsidione redemerunt. Postea Gallos cum victoria remeantes Camillus . . . collecta de agris multitudine oppressit, aurum et signa, quae Galli ceperant, reportavit.

¹ Both Polyænus and Zonaras indirectly, as they drew the passage from Plutarch.

Servius ad Aen. 6, 825.

Brenno duce Galli apud Alliam fluvium deletis legionibus everterunt urbem Romam absque Capitolio, pro quo immensam pecuniam acceperunt. tunc Camillus . . . Gallos iam abeuntes secutus est; quibus interemptis aurum omne recepit et signa.

Cassiodorus, 362.

post urbem captam redeuntes Gallos dux Romanus nomine Camillus extinxit, de quibus triumphans . . .

Per. Liv. 5.

(Galli) Senones urbem infesto exercitu petierunt fuscisque ad Alliam Romanis cepere urbem praeter Capitolium, quo se iuventus contulerat; . . . coactis deinde propter famem Romanis eo descendere ut mille pondo auri darent et hoc pretio finem obsidionis emerent. Furius Camillus . . . inter colloquium . . . cum exercitu venit et Gallos . . . urbe expulsi ceciditque.

Appian, Celt. 1.

Κελευτοὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐπεχείρησεν πρῶτοι, καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην εἰλον ἄνευ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου . . . Κάμιλλος δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνίκησε καὶ ἐξήλασε, καὶ μετὰ χρόνον ἐπελθοντας αὐτοὺς ἐνίκησε καὶ ἔθριμά βευσεν.

Orosius, 2, 19, 5-10.

Galli Senones duce Brenno . . . Romam contendunt . . . cladem fluvius Halia . . . patentem urbem penetrant . . . universam reliquam iuventutem, viz mille hominum . . . in arce Capitolini montis latentem obsidione concludunt . . . fame . . . nam mille libris auri discessionis pretium paciscuntur . . . exeuntibus Gallis . . .

De vir. ill. 23, 5.

Galli Senones . . . Romam petierunt et exercitum Romanum apud Alliam fluvium ceciderunt . . . Victores Galli urbem intraverunt . . . Reliqua iuventus cum Manlio in Capitolium fugit, ubi obsessa Camilli virtute est servata, qui . . . Gallos improvidos internicione occidit.

Florus, 1, 7, 4-17.

Galli Senones . . . Romamque venientibus ad Alliam flumen consul occurrit . . . clades . . . iuventus vero . . . viz mille . . . hominum . . . duce Manlio arcem Capitolini montis insedit . . . mille pondo auri recessum suum venditantes . . . subito adgressus a tergo Camillus adeo cecidit ut . . .

In order to show the relationship of the briefer passages, I have omitted many portions undoubtedly drawn from the

Epitome; thus the passages from Orosius, Per. Liv. Florus and De vir. ill. are less clear than I would wish. Also the portions of these authors omitted give many striking proofs of the influence of the Epitome. The general indebtedness to the Epitome is clear from the comparisons noted above but it was hardly direct in all cases. Thus Cassiodorus seems to have drawn his statement from Eutropius whom he also used on other occasions (cf. Mommsen, Mon. Germ. hist. auct. antiq. vol. 11, p. 113).

Festus has certainly drawn most of his facts from the Epitome, but it is not impossible that the last statement about the victory of Camillus was influenced by Eutropius. In fact it would almost seem that we might deem Eutropius the source of all for the statement about Camillus, but a closer examination shows that this is impossible, for Servius, Orosius and Festus all have imitations of the Epitome, which do not appear in Eutropius. Furthermore Eutropius with his double *victory* and the insertion between of the word *postea* makes the relation rather confused. His version appears to be the result of combination, as if he had also before him a version like that of Appian. In opposition to this both Festus and Servius agree in giving but one victory and in each case the relation is more natural than in Eutropius. It seems therefore that we must admit that the imitators of the Epitome are divided into two opposing classes for this story. Yet in all there appear certain common marks of the Epitome, so we must suppose either that some one had rewritten the Epitome, inserting or excluding non-Livian statements, or that all the representatives of the one or the other of these two classes had done the same independently of each other. The impossibility of several authors arriving at so nearly uniform a result makes the second alternative impossible, so we must accept a modified version of the Epitome in the section which served as source for one of these classes. What this modification was we can best decide after examining other similar cases.

1) Reinhold (p. 12) notes the difference in the following passages:

Obsequens, 49: Ptolemaeus, *rex Aegypti*, Cyrenis mortuus senatum populumque Romanum heredem reliquit;

Cassiodorus, 658: Ptolemaeus, *Aegypti rex*, populum Romanum heredem reliquit;

Per. Liv. 70: Ptolemaeus, *Cyrenarum rex*, cui cognomen Apionis fuit, mortuus heredem populum Romanum reliquit.

These three passages are surely from the Epitome but before discussing them we must include certain others. Hieronymus-Eusebius a. 1922: *Ptolemaeus, rex Cyrenae, moriens Romanos testamento reliquit heredes*. There can be no doubt that this is closely related to the version of the Epitome, even though it came through the medium of Eusebius.¹ Hieronymus a. 1952 has borrowed a different version of this event from Eutropius, 6, 11.

In like manner Festus 13¹ presents two versions: A *Cyrenas cum ceteris civitatibus Libyae Pentapolis Ptolomaei antiquioris liberalitate suscepimus*. B *Libyam supremo Apionis regis arbitrio sumus adsecuti*. Festus was evidently confused by the presence of two different statements in his sources and especially by the incorrect date in Eutropius (cf. 6, 11, 2: *Caecilius Metellus . . . Creticus . . . triumphavit* (= 66 B. C.); *quo tempore Libya quoque Romano imperio per testamentum Appionis, qui rex eius fuerat, accessit, in qua inclutae urbes erant Berenice, Ptolomais, Cyrene*). Judging from the name of the king and the date, it seems certain that the second statement of Festus came from Eutropius, so the first must be referred to another source, presumably the Epitome. But the words *civitatibus Libyae Pentapolis* do not seem to have appeared in the Epitome, so they are better explained as an addition by Festus. He had obtained the information from the passage of Eutropius but carelessly transferred it to the passage borrowed

¹ So Mommsen, *Hermes*, vol. 16 (1881), p. 608 (Eusebius was source of Hieronymus, Festus of Ammianus Marcellinus, 22, 16, 24).

from the Epitome. There is no reason for supposing that Festus used an unknown source for this passage, for the known sources, Eutropius and the Epitome, as we have seen, would have furnished him all the needed information. The failure of Reinhold to discuss this passage of Festus is all the more noteworthy as the evidence it affords is directly opposed to his whole theory; for Festus, instead of calling Ptolomæus *rex Aegypti* as Cassiodorus and Obsequens did, mentions *Cyrenæ*, thus agreeing with Per. Liv. Also Appian, B. C. 1, 111 agrees in a general way with Per. Liv. and may be from the Epitome in spite of the incorrect date (74 B. C.)¹ *ἐκ διαθηκῶν Ῥωμαίοις προσεγίγνωτο . . . Κυρήνη Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λαγίδου βασιλείως, ὃς ἐπέκλησεν ἦν Ἀπίων* (= Mith. 121).

But even without this our evidence is complete. Briefly stated it is this: the original form of the Epitome is shown in the versions of the Periocha and Hieronymus and more freely by Festus and Appian; in the version of the Epitome used by Obsequens and Cassiodorus the words *rex Cyrenarum* had been changed to *rex Aegypti*, probably by some ignorant copyist who thought that a Ptolemy must rule in Egypt.

The only alternative to this view is to suppose that Cassiodorus copied Obsequens, for which there is no evidence beyond what can be obtained from this passage.

2) Another group of passages referred to the Epitome by Reinhold, p. 12 and Ay, p. 58 without special comment furnishes a similar example. The passages are:

Per. Liv. 116: *conspiratione in eum facta, cuius capita fuerunt M. Brutus et C. Cassius . . . in Pompei curia occisus est XXIII vulneribus;*

De vir. ill. 78, 10: *dictator in perpetuum factus a senatu, in curia Cassio et Bruto caedis auctoribus tribus et viginti vulneribus occisus est;*

Cassiodorus, 710: *atque idibus Martiis Caesar in Pompeia curia occisus est;*

¹ Cf. Marquardt, Staatsverwaltung, vol. 1, p. 458.

Obsequens, 67: ipse *Caesar viginti tribus vulneribus in curia Pompeiana a coniuratis confossus*;

Orosius, 6, 17, 1: *auctoribus Bruto et Cassio, conscio etiam plurimo senatu in curia viginti et tribus vulneribus confossus* interiit;

Eutropius, 6, 25: *Caesar cum senatus die inter ceteros venisset ad curiam tribus et viginti vulneribus confossus est.*

The close verbal agreement warranted Ay in assigning all six passages to the Epitome, but how shall we decide whether the Epitomator described the death with the verb *occisus* or *confossus*? Let us compare the other imitators.

Hieronymus a. 1973: *Idibus Martiis C. Julius Caesar in curia occiditur*;

Chronograph. a. 354 (Mon. Ger. vol. IX): *C. Julius Caesar . . . occisus curia Pompeia*;

Servius ad Aen. 1, 286: *Gaius Julius Caesar . . . in curia Pompeiana a Cassio et Bruto aliisque Pompeianis occisus est*;

Servius in Verg. Buc. 5, 20: *C. Iulium Caesarem, qui in senatu a Cassio et Bruto viginti tribus vulneribus interemptus est*;

Florus, 2, 13, 95: *Brutus et Cassius aliique patres . . . tribus et viginti vulneribus ad terram datus est.*¹

Florus, with his customary freedom and Servius in Buc. have changed the verb though doubtless indebted to the Epitome. But leaving these out of consideration we still have six authors agreeing in the verb *occisus*. Such an unanimity cannot be due to chance, for even if that could account for the choice of this particular verb in one or two cases, still there are enough left to make the use of the verb *occisus* by the Epitomator a certainty. How then shall we explain the much less common verb *confossus* in the three remaining authors? Orosius certainly does not seem indebted to Eutropius for this sentence and Obsequens is related to these only through the Epitome, so we are again

¹Suetonius (Caes. 82) has *confossus* though not very similar otherwise.

forced to believe that the change took place in their common source presumably the Epitome.

3) Possibly a similar case is found in the description of the death of Lucretia. I have shown above (p. 178) that the Epitome used the expression *se occidit* in telling of her death, but that the verb was probably changed to *interfecit* by the author of Per. 1 b. Strangely enough however the Editio princeps Romana of the Per. Liv. has *interemit* and this verb appears also in a similar version of the Lucretia story given by Val. Max. 6, 1, 1; Augustine, De civ. Dei 1, 19 has *peremit*. If the verb *interemit* did not rest on so doubtful a text in the Editio princeps Per. Liv., I should infer that this verb had originally stood in the Epitome, but had been changed to *occidit* in some manuscript-family. The partial agreement of Val. Max. and Augustine is not striking enough to do more than serve as confirmatory evidence.

4) A similar case is found in the description of the death of Cato.¹ The form *se occidit* is established for the Epitome by the agreement of Orosius, 6, 16, 4, De vir. ill. 80, 4, Augustine, De civ. Dei 1, 23, and Eutropius, 6, 23, while Per. Liv. 114 and Florus, 2, 13, 71, change it to *se percussit*: Again this uniform change can hardly be due to chance, but should be explained as in the cases above.

5) Greater divergences have occurred among the imitators of the Epitome in the story of the embassy and death of Regulus. Compare first the following:

Per. Liv. 18.	Eutropius, 2, 25. ²	Florus, 1, 18, 24.
<i>Regulus missus a Carthaginiensibus ad senatum ut de pace et,</i>	<i>Carthaginienses Regulum ducem, quem ceperant, petive-</i>	<i>nec Punico carcere infractus est nec legatione suscepta.</i>

¹ Cf. Ay, p. 39.

² I omit Excerpta Planudes, 25 as it seems indirectly indebted to Eutropius; cf. Boissevain, Dio Cassius I, p. cxix.

Per. Liv. 18.

si eam non posset
impetrare, de commu-
tandis captivis age-
ret, set iure iuran-
do adstrictus, reditu-
rum se Carthaginem,
si commutari capti-
vos non placuisset,
utrumque negandi
auctor *senatus* fuit,
et cum fide custodita
reversus esset, *suppli-*
cio a Carthaginiensi-
bus de eo sumpto
peritit.

Eutropius, 2, 25.

runt, ut *Romam pro-*
ficisceretur et pacem
a Romanis obtine-
ret ac *permutationem*
captivorum faceret
. . . . et *uxorem* a
complexu removit
et *senatus* *suasit*, ne
pax cum Poenis fe-
ret . . . ut tot
milia captivorum
propter unum se et
senem et paucos . . .
regressus ad Afri-
cam omnibus *sup-*
pliciis extinctus est.

Florus, 1, 18, 24.

quippe diversa quam
hostis mandaverat
censult, ne *pax fe-*
ret, ne *commutatio*
captivorum recipere-
tur, sed nec illo vo-
luntario ad hostis
suos *reditu* nec ulti-
mo sive carceris seu
crucis *supplicio* de-
formata malestas.

Val. Max. 1, 1, 14: *missus ad senatum* populumque Roma-
num *legatus*, ut se et uno et *seno* complures Poenorum iuve-
nes pensarentur, in contrarium dato consilio Karthaginem
petiit, non quidem ignarus ad quam crudeles quamque merito
sibi infestos *reverteretur*, verum quia his *iuraverat*, si *captivi*
eorum *redditi* non forent, ad eos sese *rediturum*. potuerunt
perfecto dii immortales efferatam mitigare saevitiam.

These four authors all mention the punishment of Regu-
lus but do not describe it. Neither did the source describe
it, as is clear from Florus. Also with the exception of Val-
erius Maximus all agree in mentioning both the making of
peace and the exchange of captives as the objects of the
embassy. This omission in Valerius is not strange consid-
ering the condensed character of the passage, and can not
prevent us from claiming the Epitome as the source. The
marked agreement with the Periocha and Eutropius can not
be due to chance, so we may assume that these represent the
original form of the Epitome.

We may now look for modified forms of the same
story :

De vir. ill. 40, 2.

M. Atilius Regulus
 . . . hominum du-
 centa milia cepit . . .
 arte Xanthippi La-
 cedaemonii captus in
 carcerem missus.
Legatus de permu-
tandis captivis Ro-
mam missus dato iu-
re iurando, ut, si non
impetrasset, ita de-
num rediret, in se-
natu condicionem
dissuasit, relectisque
a se coniuge et li-
beris Karthaginem
regressus, ubi in ar-
cam ligneam coniec-
tus clavis introrsum
adactis vigiliis ac do-
lore punitus est.

Schol. to Cicero in
 Pls. 48. (Chatelain,
 Pal. Class. Latins
 I, fac. 26, 8th cent.
 MS.

Regulus dux Roman-
us trecenta milia Car-
taginiensium cepit
et ipse captus est a
Lacedaemoniis qui
auxillum Cartagini-
ensibus ferebant.
Regulum iurare co-
egerunt ut Romam
proficisceretur et de
reddendis captivis
ageret. Iuravit se
reversurum, iovit et
ne redderentur sua-
sit reversus hoc¹ cru-
ciatu affectus est.

Augustine, De civ.
 Del 1, 15.

Marcus Regulus . . .
captivus apud Car-
thaginienses fuit.
Qui cum sibi mal-
lent a Romanis suos
reddi quam eorum
tenere captivos, ad
hoc impetrandum is-
tum Regulum cum
legatis suis Romam
miserrunt, prius iura-
tionem constrictum, si
quod volebant mini-
me peregrisset, redi-
turum esse Carthagi-
nem . . . in senatu
contraria persuasit
. . . nec . . . a su-
is ad hostes redire
compulsus est, sed
quia iuraverat, id
sponie complevit . .
cruciatibus necave-
runt. Inclusum an-
gusto ligno, ubi stare
cogeretur, clavisque
acutissimis undique
confixo, ut se in nul-
lam eius partem . . .
inclinaret, vigilando
peremerunt.

The relationship to the other imitators of the Epitome is apparent and yet all three agree in omitting peace as one of the objects of the embassy; also more remarkable still two of them add the same description of the punish-

¹l. e. as given in Cicero.

ment of Regulus. There can therefore be no doubt that the original form of the Epitome was not used by Augustine and the Auctor de vir. ill. An intermediate source is the only rational explanation for this phenomenon, but before trying to decide what this was, we have two other authors to consider.

Orosius, 4, 10, 1.

Carthaginenses petendam esse pacem a Romanis decreverunt. ad quam rem *Atilium Regulum* antea *ducem Romanum*, quem iam per quinque annos *captivum detinebant*, inter ceteros *legatos* praecipue *mittendum* putaverunt; quem non *impetrata pace* ab Italia *reversum* resectis palpebris inligatum in machina *vigilando necaverunt*.

Appian, Sic. 2, 1.

συνέπιμπον τοῖς πρέσβειν Ἀτίλιον Ῥήγλον . . . αἰχμάλωτον . . . δεηθόμενον τῆς πατρίδος ἐπὶ τοῖσδε συνθέσθαι . . . παρήνεσεν ἢ πολεμῆν . . . τόνδε εἰς Καρχηδόνα ἐκόντα ἐπαυελθόντα ἐκτεῖναν οἱ Καρχηδόνοι, κέντρα σιδήρεα σανίσιν ἐνηρμοσμένα πάντοθεν ἰστώτι περιθέντες, ἵνα μηδαμῶσε δίναυτο ἐπικλίνεσθαι.

Appian, Lib. 3 is similar but briefer.

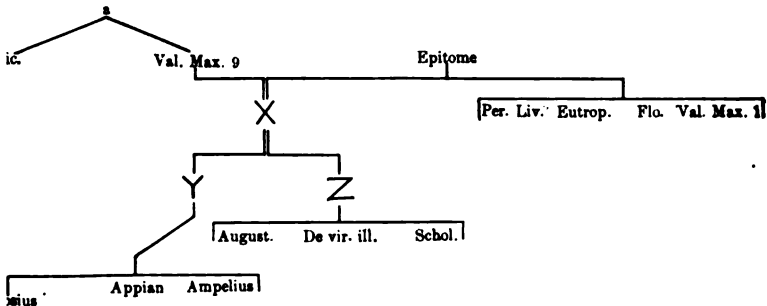
Here we should note particularly the punishment, which is described best by Appian. So closely does his version accord with the most complete of the other descendants of the Epitome, that I have no hesitation in referring the passage to the same source, even though Appian has placed it at much too late a date in his history of the war. The resemblance to the version of Augustine is particularly marked in the matter of the punishment, but on another point the difference is almost as marked, for both Orosius and Appian, instead of making the exchange of captives the sole object of the embassy, unite in considering this to be the imploring of peace. For this reason I am inclined to place in the same class with these a third author, even though he does not describe the torture.

Cf. Ampelius, 20, 8: *Regulus, qui tormenta Carthaginensium maluit pati, quam ut inutilis pax cum eis fieret aut ipse iuris iurandi fidem falleret.*

In spite of the brevity of this notice the word *tormenta* seems strong enough to suggest the description of the torture, while exactly as in Orosius and Appian peace is made the sole aim of the embassy.

Examining the descriptions of the punishment we find that they agree perfectly except for one statement in Orosius; but he adds that the eyelids of Regulus were cut off. This is not original with Orosius but is found in Cicero, In Pis. 43: *Regulus, quem Karthaginienses resectis palpebris inligatum in machina vigilando necaverunt.*

I am inclined to think that Orosius modeled his version of the punishment directly on Cicero, but the omission of the *palpebris resectis* by all the others shows that they did not; yet in spite of this decided difference the rest of the description of the punishment, as established for certain of the users of the Epitome, agrees with the version, which Valerius Maximus (9, 2, ext. 1) modeled after Cicero or his source as follows: *Karthaginienses Atilium Regulum palpebris resectis machinae, in qua undique praeacuti stimuli eminebant, inclusum vigilantia pariter et continuo tractu doloris necaverunt.* And yet these imitators of the Epitome can not have all made the combination of the two sources independently, so we find again that a form of the Epitome existed, which had been remodeled in respect to this passage. The probable relationship of sources can be best represented by a diagram.



The author or copyist of X inserted the punishment of Regulus, leaving the Epitome otherwise unchanged; Y copied X but omitted the exchange of captives, while Z omitted the asking for peace.

If X, Y and Z were independent authors, we should expect to find Orosius often agreeing elsewhere with Appian and Auctor de vir. ill. with Augustine, but such is not the case; in fact, agreements between these are less common than between other imitators of the Epitome. The only rational explanation for the phenomena in this and the preceding cases is that both readers and copyists took liberties with their manuscripts of the Epitome, sometimes changing the phraseology, at other times omitting brief portions and again adding statements or brief descriptions calculated to please their own fancy or that of the public.

6) On page 41 of my Quellencontamination I traced to the Epitome the statements of various authors concerning the Roman citizens slain in the city by Sulla. The number of these was 7000 according to Seneca, De clem. 1, 12, 2, Firmicus Maternus, 1, 8 and Augustine, De civ. Dei, 3, 28. On the other hand Per. Liv. 88 and Appian, B. C. 1, 93 have 8000. Auctor de vir. ill. seems to have written *novem milia*, but this is best explained as a corruption for *octo milia*. The presence of the smaller number (7,000) in Seneca is sufficient to prove that this number stood in the original form of the Epitome, but this must have later been varied to 8000 in the family of manuscripts, which Appian and the authors of De vir. ill. and Per. Liv. used.

7) The defeat of Hannibal near Nola by Marcellus is variously described by the Roman historians, but it is a characteristic of the representatives of the Epitome to designate this as the first victory of the Romans over Hannibal.¹ This is clear from the following passages:

¹ Cf. Drescher, p. 43.

Per. Liv. 23.

*Claudius Marcellus praetor Hannibalis exercitum ad Nolam proelio fudit et vicit primusque tot cladi-
bus fessis Romanis meliorem
spem belli dedit.*

Val. Max. 4, 1, 7.

*M. Marcellus, qui primus et
Hannibalem vinci et Syracusas
capi posse docuit.*

Orosius, 4, 16, 12.

*Claudius Marcellus ex-praetore
proconsule designatus Hanni-
balis exercitum proelio fudit pri-
musque post tantas rei publicae
ruinas spem fecit Hannibalem
posse superari.*

De vir. ill. 45, 4.

*Hannibalem apud Nolam locorum
angustia adlutus vinci docuit.*

Claudianus, De bello Goth. 138.

(Poenum) *Marcellus vinci docuit.*

The presence of *primus Hannibalem vinci posse* in the Epitome is made certain by the agreement of these passages, but shall we complete the sentence with *docuit* on the authority of Valerius Maximus, Claudianus and De vir. ill. or with *spem fecit (dedit)* as given in Orosius and the Periocha? The former must have been the original form as its appearance in Valerius shows, but, if so, then the *spem fecit (dedit)* of Orosius and Per. Liv. represents a change, which had taken place in some manuscripts of the Epitome.

8) The description of the duel between Manlius and the Gaul¹ furnishes us another example. According to Livy, 7, 10, 11 Manlius despoiled the slain Gaul of a twisted necklace (*torques*) and the same description stood in the Epitome. Compare the following:

De vir. ill. 28, 3: *torquem ei detractum cervici suae induit;*

Ampelius, 22, 1: *Manlius Torquatus, qui Gallo torquem detraxit eumque sibi circumdedit;*

Servius ad Aen. 6, 824: (Torquatus) *Gallum quendam . . . superavit et eius sibi torquem imposuit.*

¹ Cf. above, p. 171.

But in other imitators of the Epitome we find the necklace described as golden.

Cf. Per. Liv. 7: Manlius . . . *eique occiso torquem aureum detrazit*;

Florus, 1, 8: Manlius *aureum torquem* barbaro inter spolia *detrazit*;

Eutropius, 2, 5: Manlius . . . Gallum . . . *occidit et sublato torqus aureo colloque suo imposito*;

Amm. Marcellinus, 24, 4, 5: *sustulit* in hoste prostrato *aureum colli monile* Torquatus.

The addition of the adjective *aureus* was an entirely natural one, but even for that reason it could not have been made in the original Epitome, for, if so, its absence in one-half of its descendants could not be rationally explained. On the other hand Florus, Eutropius and the author of the Per. Liv. would hardly have all thought of inserting it independently. They must have found it in their copies of the Epitome.

The source of the Epitome for this passage was Claudius Quadrigarius (Aul. Gell. 9, 13, 18) *torquem detrazit* eam . . . *sibi* in *collum imponit*. Livy, though similar in thought, is differently worded.

9) It is perhaps unnecessary to multiply these examples,¹ yet I will add one more, which seems especially interesting.

Per. Liv. 8.
Titus Manlius consul filium, quod contra edictum eius adversus Latinos pugnauerat, quamvis prospere pugnasset, securi percussit.

De vir. ill. 28.
(Manlius) consul bello Latino filium suum, quod contra imperium pugnasset, securi percussit.

Chronic. paschal. 429.
Καμίλλος (= Manlius)² ἵππατος τὸν ἰδίον υἱὸν ἐπελέκισεν παρὰ γνώμην αὐτοῦ συμβαλόντα πόλεμον καὶ νικήσαντα.

¹ For other possible ones see above, pp. 166 n. and 172, and below, pp. 220 and 234. Also compare Per. Liv. 1 and Augustine, De civ. Dei 3, 15 (*Tullus fulmine consumptus*) with Val. Max. 9, 12, 1, De vir. ill. 4, Eutrop. 1, 4 (*Tullus fulmine ictus*).

² Mistake of author, cf. Ay, p. 28.

Val. Max. 6, 9, 1.
Manlius Torquatus
 . . . *filium victorem*
quod adversus impe-
rium suum cum hoste
manum conserue-
rat, securi percussit.

Augustine, De civ.
 Dei 5, 18.

Alius etiam Roma-
 nus princeps cogno-
 mine *Torquatus filium*, non quia contra
 patriam, sed etiam
 pro patria, tamen
 quia *contra imperi-*
um suum, id est con-
 tra quod imperave-
 rat pater imperator,
 ab hoste *provocatus*
iuvenali ardore pug-
naverat, licet vicisset,
occidit.

Val. Max. 9, 3, 4.
 quod *filium adule-*
scntem fortissime
adversus imperium
suum proeliatum se-
curi percusserat.

Orosius, 3, 9, 2.
Manlius enim Tor-
quatus filium suum
iuvenem victorem, in-
terfectorem Maecii
Tusculani nobilis
equitis et tum pro-
vocantis atque insult-
antis hostis occidit.

Eusebius-Hierony-
 mus a. 1684.

Romanorum consul
Mallius Torquatus
filium, quod contra
imperium in hostes
pugnaverit, virgis
caesum securi percus-
sit.

Val. Max. 2, 7, 6.
 tu, *Torquate, Latino*
bello consul filium
quod provocatus a
Maecio duce Tuscu-
lanorum. . . .

Florus, 1, 9, 2.
 cum alter *consulum*
filium suum, quia
contra imperium pug-
naverat, quamvis vic-
tozem occiderit.

Ps. Frontinus,
 4, 1, 40.¹

Manlius . . . filium,
quod is contra edic-
tum patris cum hoste
pugnauerat, quamvis
victorem in conspec-
tu exercitus virgis
caesum securi percus-
sit.

The agreement of these passages is so marked that the divergence as to manner of execution must arouse comment. Four authors say he was beheaded, three, that he was put to death, and two, that he was scourged and beheaded. The last of these is the most notable and its presence in two entirely independent authors, who from the character of their works were not accustomed to combine sources, makes it certain that the addition stood in their common

¹ Drescher (p. 37) considers the above cited passages and correctly points out that the non-Livian source of the Epitome was here related to Sallust, Cat. 52, 30.

source. But as the rest of the version comes from the Epitome, so it seems that this also must have been found in some manuscript of that work.¹ The punishment of scourging may have appeared also (transferred by some copyist) in other manuscripts, even those used by Florus, Eutropius and Augustine, where we found the beheading had been generalized to mere putting to death.

Some such explanation seems required by a passage in Servius ad Aen. 6, 824:

sed filium, ut dicit Livius, fustuario supplicio necavit. ergo 'saevum securi' saevum iure *occidendi* non ferri genere. nam *securi* non animadvertit in filium.

I have omitted the first part of the story as it was modeled on the contest of Manlius and his master of horse, Fabius. Yet after thus sketching the story briefly and perhaps from memory, Servius notes more exactly the manner of death and cites his authority. But Livy, 8, 7, 21 in describing the punishment of the youth Manlius says *cervice caesa fusus est cruor*. This must be referred to beheading, so, in spite of the citation, the entire Livy cannot have been the source of Servius, either directly or indirectly. Neither can the original form of the Epitome, which had *securi percussit*, have been the source. And yet the *fustuario supplicio* is a quite natural variation² for *virgis caesum* found in Ps. Frontinus and Hieronymus, while *necavit* is equivalent to *occidit*, which occurred in the Epitome MSS. used by Florus, Orosius and Augustine. In order to explain the Livy citation by Servius it is therefore only necessary to suppose that some copyist or user of the Epitome combined the versions found in these two different families of MSS. That the

¹The combined punishment was fairly common; cf. the well known case of the sons of Brutus, Florus, 1, 9, 5, etc.

²It seems a more brutal punishment, for the guilty one was beaten to death with sticks and stones by his fellow soldiers. As an adjective *fustuarius* is very late Latin.

Epitome was cited as Livy I have already shown on p. 42 of the Quellencontamination. Furthermore in this very passage of Servius it was undoubtedly used for the statements about the Decii and for the story of the conflict between Manlius and the Gaul (see above p. 195).

Let us now briefly consider the results of this chapter. In nine of the cases discussed the descendants of the Epitome are divided sharply into two classes. In one case there is a further subdivision, so that one main class is opposed to two subclasses, while in the last case there seem to be four classes, of which one was however formed by combination. We have the right to assume that one class in all cases represents approximately the original form of the Epitome, while the other or others show additions to or changes from the same. We may further consider as certain that earlier writers as Valerius Maximus and Seneca used only the uncontaminated version, but when we come to the later historians we find no such unanimity. Thus in the cases we have handled the instances of indebtedness to the two versions are as follows:

	uninterpolated source	interpolated source
Periochæ	6	5
De vir. ill.	7	3
Florus	2	3
Entropius	3	4
Orosius	1	5
Augustine	3	3
Appian	2	2

Although we may from this infer that the latest authors are likely to represent the most modified version of the Epitome, we can not form them into classes on this basis, for an author, which differs most widely from the original Epitome in one passage, may represent it most closely in another.

This condition is adequately explained on the supposition that the changes in form or content of the *Epitome* were originally made in individual manuscripts and were then borrowed for other manuscripts according to the desire of the various copyists or readers. Thus instead of having two families of manuscripts, one interpolated and the other uninterpolated, all the later manuscripts seem to have been interpolated to a greater or less degree.

Not only does no late imitator of the *Epitome* regularly represent either the interpolated or uninterpolated version of it, but no two even of those imitators agree in their transferences from one class to the other. The nearest approach to unanimity is between *Florus* and *Per. Liv.*, where we have four agreements to one divergence. In the other cases the disagreements are regularly the more numerous. It is therefore impossible to suppose that these divergences from the original *Epitome* were due to an intermediate source, which had slightly, though often, varied it.

In picturing these MSS. changes of the *Epitome* to ourselves, we must not forget that it was the common Roman history of the day, used in schools, by orators, rhetoricians and writers. Neither did it pretend to represent the original *Livy* in pure form as even the author of it had introduced many changes and additions; so both readers and copyists felt free to add their quota to the same.

III. DESCENDANTS OF THE EPITOME.

The subject of the descendants of the *Epitome* has probably been more thoroughly treated than any other in the study of this work and the results have been remarkable. By the investigations of Mommsen, Zangemeister and Ay, the use of the *Epitome* was definitely established for *Cassiodorus*, *Idatius*, the *Chronicon paschale*, *Vopiscus*, *Eutropius*, *Festus*, *Orosius*, *Periochae Livii*, *Obsequens*, *Florus*, *Augustine* and probably *Auctor de vir. ill.* In my *Quellencontamination* I added new proofs of the influence of the

Epitome on Florus and the Auctor de vir. ill. and likewise discovered traces of it in the scholia to Lucan and Juvenal, Pseudo-Clemens, Quintilian, Firmicus Maternus, Lucan, Seneca the philosopher, Appian, Valerius Maximus, Velleius Paterculus, Ampelius, Hieronymus and Seneca the Elder. To this long list Flemish seems to have added Granius Licinianus and Drescher still others, as Servius ad Aen., Lactantius, Plutarch, Aelian Spartianus, Nepotian, Frontinus, Pseudo-Frontinus and the Auctor originis gentis Romanae. In most of these authors the influence of the Epitome has been shown for many passages, though for a few the evidence is very scanty. Moreover in some, as Auctor de vir. ill., this indebtedness to the Epitome, though seemingly proved, was denied by Soltau in a review of my Quellencontamination in the *Wochenschrift f. klass. Phil.* vol. 15 (1898), p. 491. On this account it is perhaps advisable to discuss these authors somewhat more minutely; before passing on to the others, whose indebtedness to the Epitome has not been made the subject of controversy.

I. AUCTOR DE VIRIS ILLUSTRIBUS.

The real difficulty in the case of this work is to reconcile the fact of the frequent use of the Epitome as a source with the use of other sources previously established. Hildesheimer¹ and Rosenhauer² collected many passages to prove that the Auctor de vir. ill. was closely related in source to Florus and Ampelius. Rosenhauer even maintained that all three used as a common source an historical work now lost and offered as proof fourteen parallel passages. Was this historical work identical with the Epitome and if so are we justified in referring all these passages to the same?

¹ De libro qui inscribitur de viris illustribus urbis Romae quae. hist., Berlin, 1880, p. 34.

² De fontibus libri qui inscribitur de vir. ill. urbis Romae, Kempten, 1882, p. 23.

To answer these questions it is necessary to discuss the fourteen proofs of Rosenhauer separately, first quoting the passages he compared.

1) De vir. ill. 2, 4: Acronem singulari proelio devicit;
 Florus, 1, 1, 11: spolia opima de rege Acrone Feretrio Iovi rex reportavit;
 Ampelius, 21, 1: de Acrone Caeninensium rege [spolia opima rettulit].

These passages I have already referred to the Epitome by a comparison of Val. Max. 3, 2, 3: *occiso Acrone opima de eo spolia Iovi Feretrio retulit* (cf. Quellencont., p. 46).

2) De vir. ill. 11, 1: [Horatius Cocles] armatus ad suos tranavit;
 Florus, 1, 4, 4: ponte rescisso transnatat Tiberim nec arma dimittit;
 Ampelius, 20, 4: ponte rescisso Tiberis armatus transiit natans.

Also from the Epitome; see above p. 154, where these and others are referred to the Epitome.

3) De vir. ill. 12, 1: *Mucius Cordus*; Ampelius, 20, 3: *Mucius Cordus*. The name Cordus does not appear in Florus, nor in any other descendant of the Epitome; and yet both the Auctor de vir. ill. and Ampelius certainly used the Epitome for part of the story about Mucius, as Ay (p. 15)¹ and Drescher (p. 21) have clearly shown. But it is not alone the name Cordus, which has been combined with the version of the Epitome, for both in Florus and De vir. ill. there are certain traces of another version, found in its purest form in the Schol. Bob. in Cic. pro Sest. 21, 48. Here we find the name *Cordus* and also the clerk killed in place of the king is called *purpuratus* as in Florus and De vir. ill., while Livy and the Epitome both had *scriba*. In the Schol. Bob. we find not the least verbal similarity to the known expressions of the Epitome, therefore its source antedates the combination of this version

¹ Cf. also Quellencont., p. 33.

with the version of the Epitome; and yet the two versions are combined in varying ratios in the three authors under discussion. Did they individually combine the two sources or did they find them already combined in some intermediate source? To this we can only say, that the first view is made the more probable by the fact that the story as given by Ampelius is wholly from the Epitome, except for the name *Cordus*, while Florus has only one short phrase from the Epitome and yet does not have the name *Cordus*, and De vir. ill. presents about equal parts from each version. There seems too much individuality in the combination for us to think of a single intermediate source. Further discussion of this point is given by Vinkesteyn, *De font. lib. de vir. ill.* p. 68.

4) Florus, 1, 6, 2; Ampelius, 20, 2: *Fabii trecenti apud Cremeram*. These two authors did not use the original version of the Epitome but the Auctor de vir. ill. did, in part at least. For discussion see above, p. 165.

5) Florus, 1, 6, 9; Ampelius, 21: *Cossus Cornelius de Larte Tolumnio Veientium rege [spolia opima rettulit]*. Florus and Ampelius are both indebted to the Epitome, but De vir. ill. is different. See above p. 168.

6) De vir. ill. 30, 1: Titus Veturius et Spurius Postumius a Pontio Telesino in insidias deducti sunt; Ampelius, 20, 10: Sp. Postumius, qui a Pontio Telesino sub iugum missus.

The mistake of adding the name Telesinus is found only in these two authors; the rest of the version of De vir. ill. was derived from the Epitome. See above p. 171.

7) De vir. ill. 35, 6: ad vicesimum ab urbe lapidem castra posuit; Florus, 1, 13, 24: a vicensimo lapide oculos civitatis fumo ac pulvere inplevit; Ampelius, 28, 3: ad vicesimum ab urbe lapidem pervenit.

This sentence seems to occur only in these three authors, yet the remainder of the description is related to the Epitome:

Cf. Florus: *Pyrrhus tota tremente Campania Lirim Fre-gellasque populatus prope captam urbem a Praenestina arce prospexit. . . .*

Ampelius, 45, 2: *cum Pyrrus ad vicesimum lapidem totam Campaniam populatus accessit;*

Eutropius, 2, 12, 1: *Pyrrus . . . Romam perrexit, omnia ferro ignique vastavit, Campaniam populatus est atque ad Praeneste venit miliario ab urbe octavo decimo;*

Per. Liv. 13: *populabundus usque ad urbem Romam processit.*

It is of importance to note that both Florus and Eutropius mention Praeneste as well as the distance from the city. As Praeneste is variously given as 23 or 22 miles from Rome the combination of Florus is merely a careless estimate, which must have been made in his source, as the 20 miles appears in Ampelius and De vir. ill. and the mention of Praeneste in Eutropius. If the same source was used by all four, then Eutropius must have attempted a correction of the distance, in which case I should have expected XXII rather than XIIX. The likelihood that the Epitome was the source and that the difference in number is to be explained as a text corruption either of Eutropius or the Epitome is increased by the appearance in the Per. Liv. of the same word for the devastating.

8) De vir. ill. 35, 8: *a Curio et Fabricio superatus;*
 Florus, 1, 13, 9: *melius dimicatum est Curio Fabricioque consulibus;*
 Ampelius, 28, 3: *a Curio et Fabricio victus.*

The victory over Pyrrhus is a mistake which occurs in these three authors alone. The sentence in the De vir. ill. is completed by the words *Tarentum refugit*, for which there is no equivalent in the other two, though Eutropius, 2, 13, 4 has *Pyrrus Tarentum fugatus*. The passage in De vir. ill. thus seems a mere bit of patchwork, the first half coming from Ampelius and the last from Eutropius. Whether Ampelius drew his statement from Florus or both from a common source is impossible to say.

9) De vir. ill. 41, 2: *pacem hac conditione concessit, Sicilia, Sardinia . . . decederent*;
 Florus, 1, 18, 4: *specie quidem socios iuvandi, re autem sollicitante praeda*;
 Ampelius, 46, 2: *causa praetendebatur duplex . . . re vera praemium fuit Siciliae et Sardiniae possessio*.

The agreement between Florus and Ampelius in assigning both an alleged and a real reason for the first Punic war is not only quite general in character but may well have been borrowed from Florus by Ampelius. Far more important however is the agreement of De vir. ill. and Ampelius in the mistake of having Sardinia surrendered at this time; yet this was certainly from the Epitome, as we learn from Orosius, 4, 11, 2: *condiciones (pacis) autem erant ut Sicilia Sardiniaque decederent*. Even the Periochae, though omitting the terms of peace at end of Per. 19, implies the same version by the words (Per. 20): *Sardi et Corsi cum rebellassent subacti sunt*. Still more decided is Eutropius, 3, 2, 2: *Carthaginienses . . . Sardinienses, qui ex condicione pacis Romanis parere debebant, ad rebellandum impellentes. Venit tamen Romam legatio Carthaginiensium et pacem impetravit*. All these passages state or imply that Sardinia was surrendered to the Romans by the treaty of Lutatius before the mercenary war in Africa.

10) De vir. ill. 48, 1: *actum erat de Romano imperio, si iungere se Hannibali potuisset* (= Florus, 1, 22, 50; Ampelius, 18, 12). Drescher, p. 44, has claimed that this was from the Epitome, and I have added to his proofs above, p. 172.

11) De vir. ill. 76: *Mithridates oriundus a septem Persis*; Florus, 1, 40, 1: *Artabazes, a septem Persis oriundus, inde Mithridates*;
 Ampelius, 30, 4: *tunc septem Persae inter se coniuraverunt . . . Darius . . . a quo Artabazes originem ducit, quem conditorem regni Mithridatis fuisse confirmat Sallustius Crispus*.

I have inserted here the citation of source which Rosenhauer omitted, but it is hardly likely that Ampelius used Sallust directly, even though Florus may have done so. Compare also Appian, *Mithr.* 112: *ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀπέθρησεν ἑκκαίδεκατος ὧν ἐκ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπου Περσῶν βασιλέως* (cf. *Mithr.* 9). This seems from the same source, so I am inclined to accept the Epitome as intermediate source between Sallust and these later authors, noting that in this passage as in many others, the Epitomator cited his authority.

12) *De vir. ill.* 77, 3: Pompeius Lepidum acta Sullae rescindere volentem privatus Italia fugavit;
Florus, 2, 11, 2: Lepidus acta tanti viri rescindere parabat;
 § 6: Lutatius Catulus Gnaeusque Pompeius . . . a quibus . . . pulsus . . .;
Ampelius, 19, 7: Lutatius Catulus, qui Lepidum acta Sullae rescindere volentem Italia fugavit . . .
 Compare *Per. Liv.* 90: M. Lepidus cum acta Syllae temptaret rescindere, bellum excitavit. a Q. Catulo collega Italia pulsus . . .

The version of *Per. Liv.* and *Ampelius* is further supported by *Orosius*, 5, 22, 16, who also agrees with *Florus* and *Ampelius* in mentioning the clemency of *Catulus*. Both the *Per. Liv.* and *Orosius* state that *Pompey* at this time pursued *D. Brutus* into Cisalpine Gaul and put him to death. He may also, in a private capacity, have assisted *Catulus* against *Lepidus*. If so, we should have a rational explanation for the combination appearing in *Florus* and the perversion of fact by the *Auctor de vir. ill.* In any case the Epitome is the only common source for the passages.

13) *De vir. ill.* 77, 8: cum Crassus Syriam, Caesar Galliam, Pompeius Urbem obtineret, post caedem Crassi . . .;
Florus, 2, 13, 12: Galliam Caesar invadit, Crassus Asiam, Pompeius Hispaniam . . . Crassi morte apud Parthos;
Ampelius, 43: Caesar Gallicos, Crassus Syriacos exercitus habebat; Pompeius in senatu dominabatur. Post Crassi mortem apud Parthos . . .

Note the variation in regard to Pompey. The facts here contained are not opposed to the Epitome but the form seems rather condensed. Compare Per. Liv. 105: *Pompeio Hispaniae, Crasso Syria et Parthicum bellum dabantur*. The formation of the triumvirate and the departure of Caesar into Gaul was given in Periocha, 103. Yet Orosius, 6, 14, 3, in a summary, unites them almost as closely, though without the name of Crassus: cf. *Lucullus Asiam, Pompeius Hispaniam, Caesar Galliam perdomuit . . . Apud Parthos enim consul Romanus occiditur*. This passage of Orosius may have been somewhat influenced by Florus, but I am rather inclined to believe that all came from the Epitome and that the variations in form arose from the fact that the different authors separately condensed the longer version of the Epitome.

14) De vir. ill. 79, 7: (Caesar Octavianus) dictator in perpetuum factus, a senatu ob res gestas Divus Augustus est appellatus;
 Florus, 2, 34, 65: ob haec tot facta ingentia dictator perpetuus et pater patriae. tractatum etiam in senatu an . . . sed sanctius et reverentius visum est nomen Augusti, ut . . . nomine et titulo consecraretur;
 Ampelius, 18, 21 (= 29, 3): Iulius Caesar Augustus, qui perpacatis omnibus provinciis exercitus toto orbe terrarum disposuit et Romanum imperium ordinavit; post cuius consecrationem perpetua Caesarum dictatura dominatur.¹

With these we may compare the following:

Orosius, 6, 20, 2: hoc die primum Augustus consalutatus est; . . . ex eodem die summa rerum ac potestatum penes unum esse coepit et mansit;
 Per. Liv. 134: C. Caesar rebus compositis et omnibus provinciis in certam formam redactis * * * Augustus quoque cognominatus est;
 Cassiodor. 727: Caesar leges protulit, iudices ordinavit, provincias disposuit, et ideo Augustus cognominatus est.

Though some of these authors have omitted one statement, others another, all point to the Epitome as common

¹ Rosenhauer compared only the words *dictator in perpetuum*.

source. The lacuna in the Periocha must be filled out with another title on account of the *quoque* after Augustus. This must have been either *dictator perpetuus* or *pater patriae*, or both may have appeared as in Florus.

We may further add that the Epitome gave the title *dictator in perpetuum* to Caesar also. Cf. De vir. ill. 78, 10; Florus, 2, 13, 91; Per. Liv. 116. Note also Plutarch, Caes. 57: *δικτάτορα διὰ βίου*. This similarity of title tends to support the view that the Epitome also gave the same to Augustus as well as to Julius Caesar.

After handling these parallel passages from Rosenhauer, we may add a few similar ones, collected by Hildesheimer (p. 34) to prove that Ampelius and Auctor de vir. ill. used a common source, which was in turn indebted to Florus. Four of Hildesheimer's sets of parallels were included by Rosenhauer and have just been discussed. There remain the following three:

1) Ampelius, 18, 6: Hannibalem mora fregit;
 Florus, 1, 22, 28: sic maceravit Hannibalem ut, quia frangi virtute non poterat, mora comminueretur;
 De vir. ill. 43: Hannibalem mora fregit.

These passages I have already handled above (p. 159) and in my earlier work (Quellencont., p. 30) and referred to a common biographical source. They seem opposed to the form of the Epitome.

2) Ampelius, 18, 19: (Pompeius) Cilicas toto mari dominantis intra quadragesimum diem vicit;
 Florus, 1, 41, 15: victoria . . . quadragesimo die parta est;
 De vir. ill. 77: mox piratas intra quadragesimum diem subegit.

With these we may compare Per. Liv. 99: *intra quadragesimum diem toto mari eos expulit, belloque cum eis in Cilicia confecto acceptis in deditionem piratis agros et urbes dedit*. All these certainly used the Epitome. The only difference is that the Periocha is somewhat more full and exact than the other three authors.

3) Ampelius, 40, 4: bellum . . . contra Pompeium, iuvenem bona paterna repetentem;
 Florus, 2, 14, 3: Sextus paterna repetit;
 De vir. ill. 79: Sex. Pompeium bona paterna repetentem.

Nothing similar occurs in the other descendants of the Epitome, so these passages are perhaps to be referred to the common biographical source.

Summing up now the various proofs brought by Rosenhauer and Hildesheimer, we find that in ten of the cases where Florus, Auctor de vir. ill. and Ampelius agree, the Epitome was the source. There are three other cases of agreement between these three authors, which it does not seem allowable to refer to the Epitome, and these were probably derived from the common biographical source. Probably to the same source are to be referred likewise the two agreements between Florus and Ampelius above discussed and one of the agreements between Ampelius and De vir. ill. For further discussion of this common biographical source as well as other passages showing its influence, compare Hildesheimer, p. 27, Rosenhauer, p. 12, and Vinkesteyn, p. 42-51.

I should prefer not to attach too great weight to the agreement between Ampelius and De vir. ill. in the incorrect name Pontius *Telesinus*, as it is quite possible that the former was copied by the latter. It is also quite possible that in places the Auctor de vir. ill. was indebted now to Florus, now to Eutropius,¹ but an extended discussion of such passages hardly falls within the scope of this paper.

We return now to the Epitome to which the following passages are indebted:

1) De vir. ill. 3, 1: Numa Pompilius . . . *sacra plurima instituit . . . portas Iano Gemino aedificavit;*

¹ Several of the passages in De vir. ill., which agree verbatim with Eutropius have very poor MSS. authority, and are doubtless interpolated but not all can be so explained.

Florus, 1, 1 (2, 2): (Numa) *sacra et caerimonias . . . docuit . . . Ianum Geminum*;
 Per. Liv. 1: Numa Pompilius *ritus sacrorum tradidit. porta Iani clausa.*

The Epitome distinguished Janus as Janus Geminus and had Numa institute the sacred rites before closing the Janus gate, while Livy, 1, 19, 2 has *Ianum ad infimum Argiletum . . . fecit*, and has the sacred rites instituted afterwards. The title Janus Geminus was doubtless used by the epitome on other occasions as it is found in the following places: De vir. ill. 79; Velleius Paternulus, 2, 38, 3; Florus, 2, 34, 64; Orosius, 4, 12, 4.

2) De vir. ill. 3, 2: *annum in XII menses distribuit ad ditis Ianuario et Februario*;
 Eusebius-Hieronymus a. 1303: Numa Pompilius *duos menses anno addidit, Ianuarium et Februarium, cum ante hoc decem tantum menses apud Romanos fuissent*;¹
 Florus, 1, 1 (2, 2): *annum in duodecim menses, fastos dies nefastosque descripsit*;
 Chronograph a. 354 (Mon. Ger. vol. 9, p. 144): Numa Pompilius . . . *duos menses ad X menses Romuli instituit, Ianuarium diis superis, Februarium diis inferis*;
 Eutropius, 1, 3: *annum descripsit in decem menses*;
 Livy, 1, 19, 6: *in XII menses describit annum . . . nefastos dies fastosque facit.*

The Epitome preserved the words of Livy, but added the reference to January and February. Eutropius carelessly confused the number of months.

3) De vir. ill. 17.	Eutropius, 1, 17.	Augustine, De civ. Dei 5, 18.
<i>Quinctius dictator dictus, ad quem missi legati nudum eum arantem trans Tiberim offenderunt . . . consulem ob-</i>	<i>L. Quintius Cincinnatus dictator est factus, qui agrum IV iugerum possidens manibus suis colebat. Is cum in opere et</i>	<i>Quintium Cincinnatum, cum IV iugera possideret et ea suis manibus coleret, ab aratro esse adductum, ut dictator</i>

¹ Copied by Cassiodor. 79. Cf. also Syncellus, p. 398.

3) De vir. ill. 17.

sidione liberavit . . . vicit hostes . . . ante currum egit. Sexto decimo die dictaturam . . . deposuit et ad agri culturam reversus est.

Columella, praef. 13.

Quintius Cincinnatus obsessi consulis et exercitus liberator, ab aratro vocatus ad dictaturam venerit, ac rursus fascibus depositis ad eodem iuvenco et IV iugurum . . . redierit.

Per. Liv. 3.¹

L. Quintius Cincinnatus dictator factus, cum rure intentus operi rustico esset, ad id bellum gerendum arcessitus est. is victos hostes sub iugum misit.

Eutropius, 1, 17.

arans esset inventus . . . togam praetextam accepit et caesis hostibus liberavit exercitum.

Florus, 1, 5, 12.

hos Titus Quinctius domuit, ille dictator ab aratro, qui obsessa . . . Manlii consulis castra . . . recuperavit . . . more pecudum sub iugum misit . . . redit ad boves rursus . . . intra quindecim dies peractum bellum.

Seneca, Dial. 10, 17, 6.

Quintius dictaturam properat pervadere: ab aratro revocabitur.

Augustine, De civ. Dei 5, 18.

stret . . . victis hostibus . . . In eadem paupertate mansisse.

Orosius, 2, 12, 7.

Quintius Cincinnatus praecipuus ille dictator obsidionem oppresso hoste solvisset. qui repertus in rure, ab aratro arcessitus ad fasces . . . iugum boum Aequis imposuit . . . hostes prae se primus egit.

Both facts and words are similar in Livy (3, 26, 8) though the version is much longer. The relationship of Seneca to the Epitome is here rather uncertain.

Val. Max. 4, 4, 7, Ampelius, 18, 4 and Vegetius, 1, 3 have the common expression *aranti dictatura delata est*, but it seems impossible to refer it to the Epitome.

4) De vir. ill. 21: *decemviros legibus scribendis creavit, qui eas ex libris Solonis translatas duodecim tabulis exposuerunt;*
Orosius, 2, 13, 1: *legati ad Athenienses propter Solonis leges transferendas missi;*

¹ Five of these passages were cited by Ay, pp. 15 and 68.

Augustine,¹ *De civ. Dei* 3, 17 (= 2, 16 *leges Solonis*): *legatos Athenas missos ad leges mutuandas*;

Per. Liv. 3: *petitis per legatos et adlatis Atticis legibus . . . decemviri . . . creati*;

Cassiodorus, 300: *legati Athenas missi ad leges describendas*;

Hieronymus-Eusebius a. 1566: *Romani per legatos ab Atheniensibus iura petierunt ex quibus duodecim tabulae conscriptae*;

Suetonius, Tib. 2: *Claudius decemvir legibus scribendis*.

Here again the Epitome agreed closely both in content and form with Livy, 3, 31.

5) *De vir. ill.* 36: *Volsinii, Etruriae nobile oppidum, luxuria paene perierunt . . . cum servos manu mitterent . . . Roma auxilium petierunt*;

Orosius, 4, 5, 3: *Vulsinienses, Etruscorum florentissimi, luxurie paene perierunt*;

Florus, 1, 16: *Volsini, opulentissimi Etruscorum, implorantes opem adversus servos . . .*

The subjugation of Volsinii is just mentioned in Per. Liv. 16. Auctor *de vir. ill.* has incorrectly made Decius Mus the leader instead of Fabius; so he or his source must have used a historical rather than a biographical work. The error was doubtless caused by the frequent union of a Decius with a Fabius in the consulship.

6) *De vir. ill.* 38.
*Duilio concessum est, ut praelucante funali et praeconante tibi-
cine a cena publice rediret.*

Per. Liv. 17.
*C. Duilius . . . primus . . . navalis
victoriae duxit triumphum . . . ei perpetuus
quoque honos habitus est, ut revertenti
a cena tibi- canente funale prae-
ferretur.*

Val. Max. 3, 6, 4.²
*C. Duilius, qui primus navalem trium-
phum ex Poenis retulit, quotienscum-
que publice epulatus erat, ad funalem ce-
reum praeconante tibi- cine et fidic-
ine a cena domum reverti solitus est.*

¹ Cf. Ay, p. 25.

² Cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 2, 49.

Florus, 1, 18, 9: *primum maritimum egit triumphum . . . per omnem vitam, ubi a cena rediret praelucere funalia et praecinere sibi tibias iussit.*

Very similar is Cicero, Cato Maior 44: *C. Duilium, qui Poenos classe primus devicerat, redeuntem a cena senem saepe videbam puer; delectabatur cereo funali et tibicine . . .*

The verbal agreement is quite marked, but it may only indicate that Cicero and Livy used the same source. A more natural explanation would be that this well known passage of Cicero had directly influenced the wording of the Epitome.

7) De vir. ill. 39.	Orosius, 4, 8, 1.	Florus, 1, 18, 12.	Per. Liv. 17.
<i>Atilius Calatinus dux . . . cum ad Camerinam ab hostibus obsessam festinaret, a Poenis in angustiis clausus est, ubi tribunus militum Calpurnius Flammas accepit trecentis sociis in superiorem locum evasit, consulem liberavit; ipse cum trecentis pugnans cecidit, postea ab Atilio semianimis inventus et sanatus . . .</i>	<i>Calatinus consul Camerinam petens temere in angustias deduxit exercitum, quas Poenorum copiae iam dudum praestruxerant . . . Calpurni Flammae virtute et opera liberatus est, qui lecta trecentorum virorum manu insessum ab hostibus tumultum occupavit et in se pugnando convertit, donec exercitus . . . transiret. caesi omnes trecenti . . . solus Calpurnius . . . confossus vulneribus . . . evasit.</i>	<i>Calatino dictatore trepidatum est circa Camerinensium saltum, sed eximia virtute Calpurni Flammae tribuni mil. evasimus, qui lecta trecentorum manu insessum ab hostibus tumultum occupavit adeoque moratus est hostes, dum exercitus omnis evaderet . . . illustrior nos- ter superfuit.</i>	<i>Atilius Calatinus consul, cum in locum a Poenis circumsessum temere exercitum duxisset, M. Calpurni tribuni mil. virtute et opera evasit, qui cum ccc militibus eruptione facta hostes in se converterat.</i>

The agreement is all the more remarkable since the story is entirely different in other authors, who even change the name of the hero.

8) De vir. ill. 44: P. Scipio Nasica, a senatu vir optimus iudicatus;

Per. Liv. 29: P. Scipio Nasica . . . vir optimus a senatu iudicatus.

Livy, 29, 14, 8 has almost the same words.

9) De vir. ill. 84, 3: (Sex. Pompeius) epulatus in navi cum Antonio et Caesare non invenuste ait: "*Hae sunt meae carinae,*" quia Romae in Carinis domum eius Antonius tenebat;

Florus, 2, 18, 4: cum invitante ipso in navem discubitum est, et . . . "*Hae sunt*" inquit "*Carinae meae,*" haut inco-miter, quod cum in celeberrima parte urbis, Carinis, pater eius habitasset, ipsius domus et penates in navi penderent; Velleius Paterculus, 2, 77, 1: (Pompeius) qui *haud absurde*, cum in navi Caesaremque et Antonium cena exciperet, dixit in carinis suis se cenam dare, referens hoc dictum ad loci nomen, in quo *paterna domus* ab Antonio possidebatur.

The passages above cited, in addition to the many previously noted, will, I think, be sufficient to prove that the Epitome was one of the chief sources of the Auctor de vir. ill. Accordingly I shall let these suffice for the present, though many other passages show the same influence.

II. APPIAN.

The use of the Epitome as a source by Appian was denied by Soltau in the same review¹ in which he refused to

¹ Wochenschrift f. klass. Phil. vol. 15 (1898), p. 495. Soltau's article on the sources of Appian's Civil War, there promised, appeared in Philol. Suppl. 7 (1899), p. 595, but I find no reference therein to his former blunder in regarding Strabo as the source for Appian's wrong location of Saguntum, though he stated in his review of my book, that he had already corrected it in his forthcoming article, before finding the criticism in my work. This last article by Soltau is characterized by the same carelessness and looseness of generalization as his former works. Proofs are seldom attempted, but the

accept this source for the *Auctor de vir. ill.*, though in this case also he advanced no reasons for his position. The evidence of this source for Appian is more meager than in the case of the Latin imitators, as there can be no question of purely verbal agreement with these. Therefore it is necessary to find likenesses in fact, order or manner of statement, and that these may offer any real proof, they must contain special peculiarities, exaggerations or errors. Of such passages I discussed in my *Quellencontamination* (p. 41 ff.) the following:

1) Appian, *Bell. civ.* 1, 93; *Per. Liv.* 88 etc. See above p. 194.

2) Appian, *Hann.* 20-22; *Lib.* 63; *Florus*, 1, 22, 16; *Val. Max.* 7, 4, ext. 2; 9, 2, ext. 2; *Seneca, Nat. quaes.* 5, 16, 4. Rhetorical inventions about the battle of Cannae.

3) Appian, *Iber.* 7; *Per. Liv.* 21. Error in location of Saguntum caused by order of narration in Epitome.

4) Appian, *Iber.* 12: Identification of Saguntum and new Carthage. Error caused by passages of Epitome similar to *Eutropius*, 3, 15, 3; *Livy*, 22, 22, 4; 26, 42, 3.

5) Appian, *Hann.* 13-14; *Per. Liv.* 22; *De vir. ill.* 43. Same error in the order of Hannibal's campaigns.

6) Appian, *Hann.* 4; *Orosius*, 4, 14, 4; *Eutropius*, 3, 8, 2. Description of Hannibal's passage of the Alps.

To these we may add a passage treated by *Ay*, p. 7, though he did not venture to claim the Epitome as source for Appian. The closest agreement is between Appian, *Mith.* 53, *Obsequens*, 56, *Augustine, De civ. Dei* 3, 7 (*Livy* cited), and *De vir. ill.* 70, 3; and this is supported by further agreements between Appian, *Per. Liv.* 83, and *Orosius*, 6,

different passages are assigned to this or that source on the basis of their political tendencies. His attempt to prove *Strabo* one of the sources of Appian is a complete failure. The seven passages compared show only partial agreement in facts and no similarity in the use of words.

2, 11. The parallel statements include the siege of Ilium by Fimbria, its appeal to Sulla, its capture, destruction by fire including the burning of the temple of Minerva (except in *De vir. ill.*) and the finding of the Palladium unharmed in the ruins, all of which statements appear in Appian. The influence of the Epitome on Appian has also been shown above in four passages. See pp. 184, 187, 192 and 206. This long list should be enough to prove without further discussion the indebtedness of Appian to the Epitome, yet I will add a few more examples, which I have noted as showing the same influence.

1) Appian, Basil. 2: *ὁ δὲ δεύτερος . . . τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον ἐτελεύτησε . . . ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἐκεραυνώθη. νόσῳ δὲ τὸν βίον ὁ τέταρτος ὑπεξήλθεν. ὁ δὲ πέμπτος . . . ἐσφίγη, καὶ ὁ ἕκτος ὁμοίως . . .*

Augustine, *De civ. Dei* 3, 15: *ceteri reges, excepto Numa et Anco qui morbo interierunt, quam horrendos exitus habuerunt;*

Eutropius, 1, 3: (Numa) *morbo* decessit; 1, 4: Tullus fulmine ictus; 1, 5: (Ancus) *morbo* periit;

De vir. ill. 3, 3: (Numa) *morbo* solutus; 4, 4: (Tullus) fulmine ictus; 5, 5: (Ancus) immatura morte praereptus.

Ay (p. 13) first noted that the Epitome must have contrasted the peaceful deaths by disease of Numa and Ancus with the violent deaths of the other kings, for he claimed *morbo* for the Epitome on the agreement of Augustine, Eutropius and Auctor *de vir. ill.* With these Appian agrees perfectly, even employing *νόσῳ* to represent the *morbo*.

2) Appian, Syr. 21.

Λεῖκιον Σκιπίωνα, ὃς τότε αὐτοῖς ὑπατος ἦν, . . . σύμβουλον αἰροῦνται τὸν ἀδελφὸν Πάπλιον Σκιπίωνα τὸν Καρχηδονίους ἀεζόμενον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ

De vir. ill. 49, 15.

(*Publius Scipio Africanus*) . . . bello Antiochi *legatus* *fratri* fuit; *captum* *filium* *gratis* recepit. 53: *Scipio Asiaticus* . . . Antiochum regem Syriae *legato*

Florus, 1, 24, 14.

tum *consule Scipione*, cui *frater*, ille modo *victor Carthaginis Africanus*, *aderat* *voluntaria legatione*, *debellari regem* *placet*. § 17. *ad hoc imbre*, qui subito su-

2) Appian, Syr. 21.

ὀνομασθέντα Ἀφρικανόν. § 29. . . . τοῦ παιδὸς ἀφέσεις, γρήκει γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἐς Δημητριάδα ἐκ Χαλκίδος διαπλέοντα. § 30. Σκιπίωνι τὸν υἱὸν ἀπέπεμπεν. § 33. ἀχλνώδους δὲ καὶ ζοφερῆς τῆς ἡμέρας γενομένης, ἢ τε δόψης ἐσβεστο τῆς ἐπιδείξεως καὶ τὰ τοξεύματα πάντα ἀμβλύτερα ἦν ὡς ἐν ἀέρι ἰγρῶ.

De vir. ill. 49, 15.

fratre . . . cum arcus hostium pluvia hebetati fuissent, vict.

54: Antiochus . . . filium Scipionis Africani, quem inter navigandum ceperat, patri remisit.

Florus, 1, 24, 14.

perfusus mira felicitate Persicos arcus corruperat.

Per. Liv. 37: *L. Cornelius Scipio cos. legato Scipione Africano fratre . . . filius Africani captus ab Antiocho patri remissus est.*

Eutropius, 4, 4, 1: *Scipio Africanus fratri suo L. Cornelio Scipioni consuli legatus datus contra Antiochum profectus est.*

Orosius, 4, 20, 22: *Antiochus . . . filium Africani, quem utrum explorantem an in proelio cepisset, ultro remisit.*

Also Pseudo-Frontinus (4, 7, 30) mentions that the bows were spoiled by rain, but that alone is hardly enough to establish the influence of the Epitome. With Appian however the case is quite clear. From the agreement of Auctor de vir. ill., Florus, Per. Liv., Eutropius and Orosius we know that the Epitome gave the following statements, all of which are found in Livy: Lucius Scipio received his brother Africanus the conqueror of Carthage as his lieutenant for the war against Antiochus (= Livy, 37, 1, 9); the son of Africanus while sailing was captured by Antiochus (= Livy, 37, 34, 5); he was restored without ransom (= Livy, 37, 37, 6); in the final battle rain spoiled the

bows of the Syrians (= Livy, 37, 41, 4). These are all notices of a special character, so that the appearance of two or three of them in an author is sufficient to warrant the assumption that he made use of either Livy or the Epitome. As Appian however agrees in all four, he must have used the Epitome, especially as the entire Livy can not have been the direct source on account of the condensed form of statement agreed in by all.

3) In my Quellencontamination (p. 29) I discussed and referred to the Epitome the name *Corvinus* instead of *Corvus*¹ applied to M. Valerius. To the authors there enumerated as users of the Epitome we may add Appian, Samn. 1, Ammianus Marcell. 24, 4, 5 and Chronicon Paschale (Mon. Ger. vol. 9, p. 209). The originator of this change of name was probably Claudius Quadrigarius (cf. Aul. Gell. 9, 11) from whom the mistake was borrowed by Cicero, Cato Maior 60, and likewise crept into a couple of later passages of Livy (7, 32, 15; 7, 40, 31). Also Dionysius Hal. 15, excerpt 1 (2) must have used Claudius or some later annalist who imitated him and from the same or from Cicero the Epitomator obtained the mistake and passed it on to the later historians.

4) On p. 31, Ay called attention to the wording of the Epitome in describing the city of Saguntum. The passages cited are the following:

Augustine, De civ. Dei 3, 20: haec quippe *Hispaniae civitas amicissimu populi Romani*;

Eutropius, 3, 7: qui Saguntum *Hispaniae civitatem Romanis amicam*;

Orosius, 4, 14, 1: Saguntum *florentissimam Hispaniae civitatem, amicam populi Romani*.

This double characterization, identical in the three authors, is all the more remarkable as the wording of Livy, 21,

¹ The authorities for the correct name are Livy, 7, 26, 12-13; 7, 28, 10; 7, 39, 17; 7, 40, 7, etc. Fasti Capitolini (C. I. L. I² p. 128): Chronograph a. 354 (Mon. Ger. vol. 9, p. 52).

7, 2 is quite different. The same description of Saguntum appears in Florus, 1, 22, 3: *Saguntos . . . vetus Hispaniae civitas et opulenta fideique erga Romanos*. The words have here been somewhat varied but the source was surely the same. Turning now to Appian, Lib. 63, we find the following words in the speech of a Roman general: οἱτοὶ Ζακυνθαίους, πόλιν Ἰβηρίας ἐπιφανῆ, σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς ἐνσπονδον καὶ φίλην ἡμῖν . . . The speaker is giving instances of the treachery and cruelty of Carthage; hence the addition of the statement that Saguntum was at peace with that city. The rest of the characterization of Saguntum is identical with that in Orosius and should be referred to the Epitome, a work, which on account of its brief form was admirably adapted to the needs of those seeking examples for a speech.

5) In the Rhein. Mus. vol. 37 (1882), p. 41, Westerburg called attention to the words of Caesar, addressed to the frightened pilot as they were attempting to cross to Italy in the midst of a storm, and claimed that Florus was source for the scholiast to Lucan. The passages follow:

Commenta Lucani, 5, 577.

in historia legitur sic saepe Caesarem gubernatori dixisse "quid times, Caesarem vehis."

Florus, 2, 13, 37.

Extat ad trepidum tanto discrimine gubernatorem vox ipsius "[quid times]¹ Caesarem vehis."

Compare with these Dio Cassius, 41, 46; "θήρσει· Καίσαρα γὰρ ἄγεις." The same voyage is described by Lucan, 5, 577 ff:²

Sperne minas . . . Italiam si . . . recusas, me pete . . . tibi causa timoris, vectorem non nosse tuum, quem numina numquam destituunt, de quo male tunc fortuna meretur, cum post vota venit. medias perrumpe procellas, tutela secure mea . . . hanc Caesare pressam a fluctu defendet onus.

¹ Restored by Rossbach on evidence of Comment. Lucani.

² Cf. Singels, De Lucani fontibus, p. 95.

The foundation for this must have been a version similar to the one in Florus and Dio Cassius. The same story, though not found in Caesar appears in Appian, B. C. 2, 57: *ὁ δὲ Καῖσαρ ἀποκαλυψάμενος ἐνεβόησεν αὐτῷ "θαρρῶν ἴθι πρὸς τὸν κλύδωνα· Καίσαρα φέρεις καὶ τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην."*

Noticeable is the addition of *τύχη* in Appian and *fortuna* in Lucan; also the expression *ἴθι πρὸς τὸν κλύδωνα* may be compared with *mediās perrumpē procellas* of Lucan. Very similar is likewise the version in Plutarch, *Caes.* 38: ¹ "ἴθι" ἔφη "γενναῖε, τόλμα καὶ δέδιθι μηδέν. Καίσαρα φέρεις καὶ τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην συμπλέουσας." Plutarch and Appian used the same source which was also known to Lucan. As the same expression slightly abbreviated appears in Florus, Dio Cassius and the *Commenta Lucani*, the same or a nearly related source must be assumed for these also. Thus it becomes practically certain that this source was Livy or the Epitome. Valerius Maximus, 9, 8, 2 has the same story of Caesar's voyage with the speech omitted. This may well be the original version of Livy, as it is not likely that Valerius would have omitted a speech, which was particularly in point for the chapter *de temeritate*. If this be right, then the versions with the speech were derived from the Epitome and the abbreviated form of the same in three of the authors was perhaps due to manuscript variation in the Epitome. (See above Part II).

As the text of Florus must remain somewhat doubtful, it seems better to refer the *Comment. Lucani* directly to the Epitome, to which the expression *in historia* quite naturally refers.

The passages above cited prove, I believe, beyond a doubt the indebtedness of Appian to the Epitome. Neither do I claim to have exhausted the supply of such parallels, though their number can not be especially large, for Appian did not use the Epitome as his chief source in any part of his work.

¹This was copied verbatim by Zonaras, 10, 8.

III. LUCAN.

In my Quellencontamination (p. 34) I claimed Lucan as one of the users of the Epitome and cited a few examples as proof. I can do hardly more here, for the question is so intimately connected with the other question of the influence of Lucan on later writers, that a full survey of his indebtedness to the Epitome would raise discussions too extensive for the space at my command. I shall therefore confine myself to the treatment of a few passages, where the source seems to me plain, though the same passages have been incompletely or incorrectly treated by others.

1) Drescher (p. 48) refers to the Epitome the following passages:

Val. Max. 1, 6, 12.

(Iuppiter Pompelo) egresso a Dyrrachio adversa agmini eius fulmina iacens, examinibus apium signa obscurando, subita tristitia implicatis militum animis, nocturnis totius exercitus terroribus, ab ipsis altaribus hostiarum fuga . . . spatio unius diei confregit. quo constat in delubris deum sua sponte signa conversa, militarem clamorem strepitumque armorum adeo magnum Antiochiae et Ptolemaide auditum, ut in muros concurreretur, sonum tympanorum Pergami additis delubri editum, palmam viridem Trallibus in aede Victoriae sub Caesaris statua inter coagmenta lapidum iustae magnitudinis enatam.

Obsequens, 65.

A Dyrrachio venientibus adversa fuerunt fulmina, examen apium in signis . . . nocturni terrores in exercitu fuere ipse Pompeius pridie pugnae diem visus in theatro suo ingenti plausu excipi . . . victus in Aegypto occisus. eo ipso die plerisque locis signa sua sponte conversa,* clamorem crepitumque armorum Antiochiae bis ut curretur in muros auditum,† Indequae sonum tympanorum Pergami. palma viridis Trallibus in aede Victoriae sub Caesaris statua inter coagmenta lapidum magnitudine matura enata. C. Cornelius augur Patavii eo die, cum aves admitterent, proclamavit rem geri et vincere Caesarem.

Florus, 2, 13, 45: *fuga victimarum, examina in signis, interdiu tenebrae. dux ipse in nocturna imagine plausu theatri sui in modum planctus circumsonatus et mane cum pullo pallio—nefas—apud principia conspectus est.*

I have cited the passages more fully than Drescher did, so that the differences also may be noted. The omissions in Florus are not important as his account is plainly abridged; nevertheless he gives two omens, darkness by day and the mourning robe, not mentioned by either of the others. Valerius Maximus also omits both the dream of Pompey and the prophecy of the augur Cornelius, while Obsequens omits only the flight of the sacrificial victims. Let us now consider the description in other authors:

Lucan, 7, 7: *nox . . . Magno . . . vana deceptit imagine somnos. nam Pompeiani visus sibi sede theatri . . . cernere plebis attollique suum laetis ad sidera nomen vocibus et plausu . . . l. 157: oculos ingesto fulgore clausit . . . l. 161: innumero cooperta examine signa . . . l. 165: fugit ab ara taurus . . . victima . . . l. 177: voltus tenebris mirantur opertos et pallere diem . . . l. 192: augur . . . ubi dispergitur unda Timavi 'Venit summa dies, geritur res maxima' dixit 'in pia concurrunt Pompei et Caesaris arma.'*

There are many elaborations of these omens and poetic exaggerations of other local ones, the only kind given by Lucan with one exception. The omission of omens from other places thus seems intentional, but was perhaps further motivated by the fact that the Epitome separated the local from the non-local omens. Both the omen *interdiu tenebrae* of Florus and the augur's prophecy of Obsequens are found here, as well as four others which occur in two or more certain representatives of the Epitome, so there can be little question that Lucan used the latter as source.¹ We must also compare Dio Cassius, 41, 61, 2:

κεραυνοί τε ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπέπεσον, καὶ πῦρ ἀέριον ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ταφρείας φανέν ἐς τὴν ἐκείνου κυτέσκηψε, τὰ τε σημεῖα . . . μέλισσαι περιέσχον, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἱερέων αὐτοῖς τοῖς βωμοῖς προσ-
αγόμενα ἐξέδρα. . . . πολλαχῶθι ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ τῆς μάχης ἡμέρᾳ καὶ

¹ Westerburg (Rh. Mus., vol. 37 (1882), p. 42) claims that Lucan was the source of Florus for these omens. His proof is that Lucan and Florus give one omen not given elsewhere. This, however, may well have stood in the Epitome and been omitted by both Obsequens

στρατοπέδων συνόδους καὶ ὄπλων κτύπους συμβῆναι, ἐν τε Περγίῳ τυμπάνων τε τινα καὶ κυμβίλων ψόφον ἐκ τοῦ Διουυσίου . . . καὶ ἐν Τράλλεσι φοινικί τε ἐν τῷ τῆς Νίκης ναφ̄ ἀναφῦναι καὶ . . . πρὸς εἰκόνα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐν πλαγίῳ κειμένην μεταστραφῆναι, τοῖς τε Σύροις δύο τινὲς νεανίσκους τὸ τέλος τῆς μάχης ἀγγείλαντας ἀφανεῖς γενέσθαι, καὶ ἐν Παταουίῳ . . . ὄρνιθὸς τινος . . . δεῖξαι τρόπον τινα Γίσιος γὰρ τις Κορινθίος πῖντα τὰ γενόμενα ἀκριβῶς τε ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐτεκμήριτο καὶ τοῖς παρούσιν ἐξηγήσατο.

Plutarch, Pomp. 68:

Τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἔδοξε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους Πομπήσιος εἰς τὸ θέατρον εἰσι-
άντος αὐτοῦ κροτεῖν τὸν δῆμον, αὐτὸς δὲ κοσμεῖν ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης
νικηφόρου πολλοῖς λαφύροις. CAES. 43: ὥφθη λαμπὰς οὐρανίου
πυρός, ἣν ὑπεμενεχθεῖσαν τὸ Καίσαρος στρατόπεδον λαμπρὰν καὶ φλογώδη
γενομένην ἔδοξεν εἰς τὸ Πομπηίου καταπεσεῖν. . . πανικὸν τύραχον
ἦσθοντο γινόμενον παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίους. CAES. 47: Σημείων . . .
ἐπιφανέστατον . . . τὸ περὶ Τράλλεις. Ἐν γὰρ ἱερῷ Νίκης ἀνδριᾶς
εἰστήκει Καίσαρος, καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτῷ χωρίον . . . λίθῳ σκληρῷ κατε-
στρωμένον ἦν. ἐκ τούτου ἀνατεῖλαι φοινικα παρὰ τὴν βίσιον τοῦ ἀνδρι-
άτος. Ἐν δὲ Παταβίῳ Γίσιος Κορινθίος, ἀνὴρ εὐδόκιμος ἐπὶ μαντικῇ
. . . ἐπ' οἰωνοῖς καθήμενος ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν. ὡς
Λίβις φησι, τὸν καιρὸν ἔγνω τῆς μάχης καὶ πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας εἶπεν
ὅτι πηραίνεται τὸ χρεῖμα . . . Νικᾶς ὁ Καίσαρ. . . ταῦτα μὲν οὖν
ὁ Λίβιος οὕτως γενέσθαι καταβεβαιοῦται.

We are now in a position to attempt to distinguish between Livy and the Epitome. Without laying too much stress on the more elaborate form of the two omens actually referred to Livy, we may note the close resemblance between Dio Cassius and the Livy citation in Plutarch. Also the heavenly fire passing over Caesar's camp into Pompey's is given by Dio Cassius as well as by Plutarch. Livy is not indeed cited by the latter for chap. 43, but he was quite certainly the source, as the Livian origin of the other omen in that chapter, the disturbance in the camp

and Val. Max., as both have been shown to be guilty of other omis-
sions. Furthermore, Florus has one omen not given by Lucan, nor
in fact anywhere else, yet he omits four other omens which Lucan
(l. 173; 175; 176; 179) drew from another source or invented. This
is to me proof conclusive that Florus used the Epitome directly and
not through the medium of Lucan.

of Pompey, is shown by its presence in the descendants of the Epitome. So we can restore the Livian version by a comparison of Dio Cassius and Plutarch, though it is possible that Dio omitted some omens besides the one about the disturbance in Pompey's camp. The Epitome had three others at least, but these may be explained as additions by the Epitomator. If the dream of Pompey is such an addition, then its presence in Plutarch's life of Pompey must be traced directly or indirectly to the Epitome, which was rarely used by Plutarch, but I do not think the omission of the dream by Dio is very strong proof that it did not stand in Livy. On the other hand the Epitomator quite certainly omitted two omens given by Livy, the heavenly fire and the miraculous report of the battle in Syria.

Finally I would call attention to the order in which the omens are given. Disregarding additions and omissions, the order of like omens, both in the representatives of the Epitome and of the entire Livy, is exactly the same, except in the case of Florus, who gives but three. Also both Livy and the Epitome seems to have divided the omens into two groups placing the defeat between. Four of the above omens are given by Caesar (B. C. 3, 105) in the same form and order as in the descendants of Livy; so the latter seems to have taken these from Caesar and drawn the others from different sources.

2) In describing the flight of Pompey after his defeat most of the historians agree quite closely; yet Westerburg (op. cit., p. 43) claims without discussion that Florus used Lucan for his version. On the other hand Singels (*De Lucani fontibus*, p. 129) refers both as well as other authors to Livy. Caesar (B. C. 3, 96 ff.) describes the flight quite fully as being by way of Larisa, Amphipolis, Mytilene, Cilicia, Cyprus and, after a discussion whether he should go to Syria or not, finally to Pelusium. Livy or the Epitomator varied and elaborated this, especially by extending the one discussion as to destination and introducing another one, as

we see from the following authors: Lucan, 7, 712 and 8, 1 ff.: the flight leads to Larisa, Tempe, mouth of Peneus, Mytilene in Lesbos, then, after discussion whether they should flee to Parthians or other eastern tribes, to Phaselis, to Syhedra in Cilicia, then second discussion whether to go to Africa, Parthia or Egypt, next to Cyprus (no stop) and at last to Pelusium. Appian, B. C. 2, 83: flight leads to Larisa, Mytilene, then decides to go to Parthians rather than to Corcyra or Libya, comes to Cilicia, discusses whether to go to Parthia, Egypt or Africa, reaches Egypt. Dio Cassius (42, 2-4) omits second discussion. The flight was by Larisa and Lesbos, then discussion whether to go to Parthia or Egypt; further flight to Cilicia and Pelusium. Florus (2, 13, 51) omits the first discussion as to destination, describing the flight as first to Tempe, then Lesbos, Syhedra in Cilicia, then, after discussion concerning Parthia, Egypt and Africa as a refuge Pompey comes to Pelusium. Also Velleius Paterculus (2, 53) has the same discussion, whether the flight should be to Parthia, Africa or Egypt, but he mentions only Mytilene and Egypt as the places touched at. Orosius (6, 15, 27) omits the discussion but names as places on the route Peneus, Asia, Cyprus and Egypt. Per. Liv. 112 mentions only Egypt but implies that Cyprus was on the route by the words *Cypron refugerunt*.

We see that Lucan presents the most complete account, yet all the points mentioned by him are found in one or more users of the Epitome except the town Phaselis. Thus Tempe and Syhedra are defended by Florus, the Peneus by Orosius and Cyprus by Orosius and Per. Liv. It is here impossible to distinguish between Livy and the Epitome, though we are justified by our previous discussions in claiming all for the Epitome except Dio Cassius and Velleius Paterculus, while even for these the presumptive evidence is strong.

I have omitted all treatment of Plutarch, *Pomp.* 73 ff.,¹ though he gives the same discussion as to whether the flight should be to Libya, Parthia or Egypt. He, however, introduces Ataleia in Pamphylia as a place on the route and omits the further voyage to Cilicia, so if he used Livy or the *Epitome*, he must have combined statements from another source.

3) Caesar (*B. C.* 1, 36) in describing the siege of Marseilles states that, when he left to go to Spain, he placed D. Brutus in command of the blockading fleet and C. Trebonius over the siege operations. The account of Livy was probably about the same, but neither had any influence on later historians. The *Epitome* on the other hand, in consequence of condensation, failed to distinguish the separate fields of activity of the two commanders, merely stating that C. Trebonius and Dec. Brutus were left in command, for both *Per. Liv.* 110 and *Dio Cassius*, 41, 19, have this version. So exceptional an agreement is alone enough to establish the influence of the *Epitome*, but other writers also were affected by this version, though none reproduce it completely.

Florus (2, 13, 25)² places Brutus in sole command at the siege and *Lucan* 3, 514 implies the same though he mentions Brutus only in connection with the naval battle, nor does he even mention the siege again after this victory. In like manner *Orosius* (6, 15, 6), in a passage which seems entirely Livian, names Trebonius as sole commander. The reason for the omissions in *Florus* and *Orosius* was plainly the desire for brevity and the haste, characteristic of both writers; therefore it is entirely natural that one should omit the name of Brutus, the other of Trebonius. In *Lucan* the

¹ Soltau, *Philol. Suppl.* 7 (1899), p. 614, fails to note these differences and thinks Theophanes the common source of Plutarch and Appian.

² *Westerburg*, *op. cit.*, p. 39, makes *Lucan* the chief source of *Florus* here, but the latter's agreement with *Orosius* (6, 15, 7) as to the terms of surrender makes the *Epitome* certain as the source of that part at least; so probably of all.

case is not so clear, as he may have omitted the name of Trebonius owing to his desire to describe at length only the naval battle. Still, though admitting this possibility, it seems likely that the lack of a separate definite activity for Trebonius in the version of the Epitome gave the occasion at least for the omission of his name by the poet.

In the preceding discussion I have twice criticised the work of Westerburg on Lucan and Florus, but I do not reject all of his conclusions, for he has clearly shown that Florus was well acquainted with Lucan's poem and imitated it stylistically in some passages.¹ But he goes too far when he refers all resemblances in statement between Lucan and Florus to the influence of the former, for both were indebted to the Epitome as well; therefore when other users of the Epitome agree with these two in fact or form, we have a right to refer all to the Epitome. A good example is the one discussed by Westerburg, p. 37,² where he compares Lucan, 1, 125: *nec . . . ferre potest Caesarve priorem, Pompeiusve parem* and Florus, 2, 13, 14: *Pompeio suspectae Caesaris opes et Caesari Pompeiana dignitas gravis. nec ille ferebat parem, nec hic superiorem*. This would seem to be a clear case of Lucan-imitation on the part of Florus, if we could not compare Dio Cassius, 41, 54: *Πομπήιος οὐδενὸς δεύτερος, Κάισαρ πρῶτος πάντων εἶναι ἐπέθυμι*. Dio has to be sure varied the expression by interchanging the characteristics of Pompey and Caesar, but the contrast remains the same and must be considered the creation of some one author who was source for all three. It is impossible to consider Lucan the source as the change made by Dio Cassius points to the same ambiguity in the source as in Florus; so we have no choice except to consider the Epitome as source for all. For a similar

¹ Cf. also Klotz, Rhein. Mus. vol. 56 (1901), p. 439.

² Cf. also Singels, op. cit., p. 33.

characterization of Pompey alone see Caesar, B. C. 1, 4 and Velleius Paterculus, 2, 33, 3.

Another article to which I must refer before leaving this author is that by Perrin (Amer. Jour. of Phil., vol. 5 (1884), p. 325), who claims Lucan as the source of Appian in a single passage. The agreement is as follows: Lucan, 7, 326: *sternite iam vallum fossasque inplete ruina, exeat ut plenis acies . . .* Appian, B. C. 2, 74: *καθίλετέ μοι προιώντες ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην τὰ τεῖχη τὰ σφίτερα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν τάφρον ἐγχώσατε.* The agreement of these is complete, but until other certain cases of the influence of Lucan on Appian are pointed out, I prefer to consider the Epitome as source for both, especially as the other regular users of the Epitome have no statement incompatible with the above. We find a sort of confirmation moreover in Plutarch, Caes. 44: *Ὁὐ μὴν μαχεῖσθαι γε κατ' ἐκείνην προσεδόκα τὴν ἡμέραν, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἐπὶ Σκοτούσσης ὀδεύων ἀνεξεύγνεν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν σκηνῶν ἤδη καταλελυμένων . . .* It would seem that the destruction of the rampart and the filling up of the ditch might, as preliminaries to abandoning the camp, accompany the striking the tents mentioned by Plutarch. Therefore in Appian and Lucan we have an intentional perversion of the fact partially stated by Plutarch. The object of the change was a rhetorical one, aiming to exaggerate the dangers and desperation of Caesar. This relation of development between the sources naturally suggests Livy as the source of Plutarch and the Epitome for the other two.

IV. AMPELIUS.

The close resemblance of Ampelius to other users of the Epitome, manifest in all the chapters on Roman history, has already been noted by others as well as by myself. A part of these resemblances are, however, due to the use of a certain biographical work, which was a common source also of Florus and the Auctor de vir. ill.¹ Furthermore, other

¹ See above in the section on De vir. ill., where the possible indebtedness of the latter to Ampelius is also noted.

passages in Ampelius were drawn directly from Florus. This fact was noted by Eussner (Philol., vol. 37 (1877), p. 148), though he assumed rather too extensive an indebtedness. As the Epitome was the chief source of Florus for the passages imitated, the difficulty of deciding whether Ampelius made use of Florus or the Epitome in a given case is apparent. Even where the appearance of statements not found in Florus makes it fairly certain that the Epitome was the source we can not be sure that the same work was the source of all the accompanying statements, especially if the verbal agreement with Florus is too conspicuous. If Ampelius was at all acquainted with the book of Florus, the collection of separate occurrences under single heads made it well adapted to his purpose, while the brevity of the work rendered verbal reminiscences more easy. To the passages cited by Eussner as illustrating this indebtedness to Florus I shall add only the following one, which seems decided enough to establish the influence fully.

Ampelius, 25.

Secessiones plebis a patribus fuerunt quattuor. Prima secessio propter impotentiam feneratorum, cum in sacrum montem plebs armata secessit.

Secunda propter impotentiam decemvirum, cum interfecta filia sua Virginius Appium et totam eius factionem in Aventino monte circumvenit effecitque, ut abdicato magistratu accusati atque damnati varis supplicii punirentur. Tertia propter matrimonia, plebei ut patriciis nuberent, quam Canuleius concitavit in monte Janiculo.

Florus, 1, 17.

De seditioibus.

Prima discordia ob impotentiam feneratorum . . . in sacrum montem plebs armata secessit.

Secundam decemviratus libido conflavit . . . Appius . . . filiam . . . Virginius pater . . . in medio foro manu sua interfecit . . . totam eam dominationem obsessam armis in carcerem et catenas ab Aventino monte detraxit.¹

Tertiam seditioem excitavit matrimoniorum dignitas, ut plebei cum patriciis iungerentur, qui tumultus in monte Janiculo duce

¹ This passage of Florus was drawn from the Epitome; see above p. 167.

Ampelius, 25.

Quarta secessio in foro propter magistratus, ut plebei consules fierent, quam Sulpicius Stolo concitavit.

Florus, 1, 17.

Canuleio tribuno plebis exarsit. Quartam honorum cupido, ut plebei quoque magistratus crearentur. Fabius Ambustus, duarum pater, alteram Sulpicio patricii sanguinis dederat, alteram plebeius Stolo sibi iunxit . . . magistratum consortium . . . extorsit.

If Ampelius relied on his memory in this imitation, as I believe he did, not only the close agreement of the first and third sections, but the less exact imitation of the second with possible insertion of some foreign material is natural; for the brief statements of Florus in sections one and three could easily be quoted, while the longer description of the second secession had to be condensed. For the fourth secession the memory of Ampelius had evidently become somewhat dim, for he combines in one the names of Sulpicius and Stolo. This was certainly a mistake of the memory and Florus furnished a good opportunity for it, as he did not give the full names of either son-in-law, nor did he mention later the name of the one, who was leader of the movement for equal honors, leaving it to the reader to gather that from the context. Another passage so well calculated to confuse a careless copyist would be hard to find, and this renders the mistake of Ampelius a proof of the influence of Florus as marked as the agreement of the other portions of the chapter.

Returning now to the Epitome I give the following instances of its use by Ampelius in addition to the many already noted by Drescher and myself.

1) Ampelius, 18, 9.¹
Fabricius Luscinus, qui Cornelium Rustinum consularem vi-

Per. Liv. 14.
Fabricius censor P. Cornelium Rustinum consularem senatu

Florus, 1, 13, 22.
Fabricius decem pondi argenti circa Rustinum consularem vi-

¹ Hildesheimer, p. 26, holds that Hyginus was the source; Rosenhauer, p. 33, that Nepos was.

Ampelius, 18, 9.
rum senatu amovit, luxuriae et avaritiae damnatum, quod decem pondo argenti possideret.

Aulus Gellius, 4, 8, 7.
Rufinum bis consulatu et dictatura functum censor Fabricius senatu movit ob luxuriae notam, quod decem pondo libras argenti facti haberet.
 = 17, 21, 39 where he adds *P. Cornelius* to the name, *causam iati notae subscripserunt* and *cenae gratia* after *argenti facti*.

Per. Liv. 14.
movit, quod is X argenti pondo facti haberet.

Val. Max. 2, 9, 3.
 de *Fabrici Luscini censura*, narravit omnis aetas . . . ab eo *Cornelium Rufinum duobus consulatibus et dictatura speciosissime functum, quod X pondo vasa argentea comparasset, perinde ac malo exemplo luxuriosum in ordine senatorio retentum non esse.*

Florus, 1, 18, 22.
rum quasi luxuriam censoria gravitate damnaret.

Dionysius Hal. Exc. 20, 18.

Ὀὔπατος Φαβρίκιος, τιμητῆς γενόμενος, ἄνδρα δυοῖ μὲν ὑπατείαις, μίῃ δὲ δικτατωρείᾳ κεκοσμημένον, Πόπλιον Κορνήλιον Ρουφίνον. ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου τῆς βουλῆς, ὅτι πρῶτος ἐν ἀργυρῶν ἐκπωμάτων κατασκευῇ πολυτελής ἐδόξε γενέσθαι, δέκα λίτρας ἐκπωμάτων κτησάμενος.

In spite of the marked resemblance of all these passages, there is one distinct difference. Ampelius, Florus and the Periocha apply only the adjective *consularis* to Rufinus, while the others have *bis consulatu et dictatura functum*. Now we know from the character of the passage and also from actual citations that the entire chapter (Gellius, 17, 21) was derived from the chronological works of Varro and Nepos, one of whom must have been the author of this statement. The same source was certainly used by Gellius in the other passage. Comparing Valerius Maximus and Dionysius also we find only one divergence and that a slight one. Gellius has *argenti facti cenae gratia* where Valerius, has *vasa argentea* and Dionysius *ἀργυρῶν ἐκπωμάτων*. Gellius seems to represent the original source most nearly, but the variation of the other two is so trifling that it does not prevent us from referring them to the same source.

As regards Ampelius, Florus and Per. Liv., we are certain that the Epitome was the direct source, while indirectly the story must be traced back to the source of the other three, *i. e.* to Varro or to Nepos. But Livy seems not to have made use of authors so late as these, especially in the earlier part of his work, so it is necessary to conclude that the Epitomator introduced the story out of either Varro or Nepos. The only alternative is to suppose that the source of Gellius, whether Varro or Nepos, copied one of the annalists verbatim, in which case this annalist might be the source of Dionysius, Valerius Maximus, Livy or even of the Epitome. But such exact copying especially in the classical period is most improbable.

2) Ampelius, 22, 3.

Scipio Aemilianus, cum esset legatus sub Lucullo imperatore, apud Intercatiam Vaccaeorum urbem provocatorem barbarum occidit.

Orosius, 4, 21, 1.

Lucullo cos. legatus . . . P. Scipio . . . barbarum provocantem singulariter congressus occidit.

De vir. ill. 58.

P. Scipio Aemilianus . . . Lucullo in Hispania legatus apud Intercatiam oppidum provocatorem singulari proelio vicit. Muros hostilis civitatis primus ascendit.

Val. Max. 3, 2, 6.

et Aemilianus Scipio. hi etiam ultro provocatos hostium duces interemerunt . . . idem Scipio Aemilianus, cum in Hispania sub Lucullo duce militaret atque Intercatiam, praevalidum oppidum circumdederetur, primus moenia eius ascendit.

Per. Liv. 48.

P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus . . . provocatorem barbarum tribunus militum occidit et in expugnatione Intercatiae urbis malus periculum adlit. nam murum primus transcendit.

Florus, 1, 33, 11.

Lucillus . . . Vaccaeos, de quibus Scipio . . . singulari certamine, cum rex fulisset provocator, opima rettulerat.

The agreement is marked enough to prove the Epitome source of all except Florus, but it is likely that even his changes are due to carelessness rather than to a separate source.

V. DIO CASSIUS.

I have above (pp. 181, 219, 225, 226, 227 and Tarpeia, p. 26, also below, p. 251) cited some passages where Dio Cassius shows marked resemblance to the undoubted descendants of the Epitome, and on the basis of these I enroll him among the users of the work, though recognizing that instances of such indebtedness must be rare in an author using as many sources as Dio did (Cf. his own statement, book 72, 23). The difficulty of detecting such influence of the Epitome is further increased by the impossibility of showing purely verbal agreements between Greek and Latin authors and also by the circumstance that the entire Livy was also used by Dio as a source. The perplexities of the case become still greater since the extant portions of Dio Cassius are represented by fragments only in Livy and vice versa. Nevertheless I venture to note further a couple of passages, where the proof of the influence of the Epitome seems clear.

1) The description of the Spanish leader Viriathus assumes in many of the later historians a peculiar rhetorical form which must be referred to the invention of some one author. We may compare the following:

Per. Liv. 52: *Viriathus in Hispania primum ex pastore venator, ex venatore latro, mox iusti quoque exercitus dux.* This advance through four separate stages is a rhetorical exaggeration found only in a few imitators of the Epitome. Cicero, Valerius Maximus, Appian and Ammianus Marcellinus mention the exploits of Viriathus without any such characterization. I do not consider the expression in Velleius Paterculus, 2, 1, 3, *dux latronum* extraordinary nor indicative of the influence of the Epitome. Not even Frontinus, 2, 5, 7 (*ex latrone dux Celtiberorum*) can be certainly claimed

for the Epitome, though possibly indebted to the entire Livy. The following however are all certain descendants of the Epitome:

De vir. ill. 71, 1:¹ Viriathus Lusitanus, ob paupertatem *primo mercenarius, deinde* alacritate *venator*, audacia *latro*, ad *postremum dux*.

Florus, 1, 33, 15 Lusitanos Viriatus erexit . . . qui ex *venatore latro*, ex latrone subito *dux* . . .

Eutropius, 4, 16, 2: in *Lusitania* . . . Viriathus . . . *pastor primo* fuit, *mox latronum dux*, *postremo* . . . adsertor . . . Hispaniae.

Orosius, 5, 4, 1: Viriatus . . . *Lusitanus*, homo *pastoralis latro*, *primum* infestando vias, *deinde* vastando provincias, *postremo* exercitus Romanorum vincendo . . .

Only De vir. ill. retains all four members in the comparison, whereby *pastor* becomes *mercenarius*, a hired servant. Florus omits the statement that Viriathus was a shepherd, while Eutropius and Orosius omit the designation, *hunter*. It is possible that Orosius was influenced by Eutropius in making the change but it is more likely that some family of manuscripts of the Epitome had omitted this description, for we find exactly the same form in Dio Cassius (B. 22, frg. 73, 1): Οὐρίαθος ἀνὴρ Λυσιτανὸς . . . ληστής τε γὰρ ἐκ ποιμένος, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ στρατηγός. There can be no question that Dio Cassius, Eutropius and Orosius derived this description from the same author, but as the variation from the other descendants of the Epitome is confined to a single word, the Epitome must be accepted, however we may explain the omission, as the final source of all.

2) The attitude of Caesar, when Pompey's head was brought to him, gives us another example. In his commentaries Caesar omits all mention of the matter (cf. B. C. 3, 106), so Asinius Pollio and Livy are perhaps the original sources. The form of the latter is probably shown by Plutarch, Caes. 48, where almost immediately after citing

¹ Cf. Eussner, Philol. vol. 34 (1876), p. 176, that Livy was source.

Livy, Plutarch says: Θεόδοτον μὲν ἀπεστράφη τὴν Πομπηίου κεφαλὴν προσφέροντα, τὴν δὲ σφραγίδα δεξάμενος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς κατεδάκρυσεν. Essentially the same account is given by Plutarch, Pomp. 80, but the version of Appian, B. C. 2, 86 is wholly different.

On the other hand very similar to Plutarch-Livy are the following:

Per. Liv. 112: Caesar . . . cum ei Theodotus caput Pompei et anulum obtulisset, infensus est et inlacrimavit.

Eutropius, 6, 21, 3: (rex Aegypti) caput eius et anulum Caesari misit. Quo conspecto Caesar etiam lacrimas fudisse dicitur, tanti viri intuens caput et generi quondam sui;

De vir. ill. 78, 6: capite eius oblato flevit et honorifice sepeliri fecit;

Orosius, 6, 15, 29: Caesar . . . perlato ad se ac viso Pompei capite anuloque flevit;

Dio Cassius, 42, 7, 2: τὴν τε κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντα οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου εἶδεν. 8, 1: ὁ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου κεφαλὴν ἰδὼν κατεδάκρυσεν . . . πολίτην τε αὐτὸν καὶ γαμβρὸν ὀνομίζων . . . καὶ ἐκείνην κοσμησαί τε καὶ εὐθετήσαι καὶ θύψαι τιτὴν ἐκέλευσε. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τούτῳ ἔπαινον ἔσχεν, ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῇ προσποιήσει γέλῳτα ὠφλίσκανε. τῆς γὰρ . . . καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν τῷ ὀλέθρῳ αὐτοῦ ἐσκήπτετο.

Only the Periocha states in agreement with Plutarch that Theodotus brought the head, while Eutropius and Dio say that Ptolemy sent it. These statements are not contradictory but rather supplement each other, as we see from Lucan (9, 1010), who omitting the name says that the head was brought by a *satelles regis*. As additions to the Plutarch-Livian version we note that the Periocha represents Caesar as angry at the murderers as well as weeping, Eutropius adds a reference to Pompey as son-in-law and De vir. ill. mentions the care and burial of the head, while Dio Cassius has all these points, though he criticises the exhibition of anger and styles it pretended. Another to represent a quite complete form of the Epitome is Val. Max. 5, 1, 10:

Caput . . . Aegyptiae perfidiae munus portatum est ipsi victori: ut enim id Caesar aspexit, oblitus hostis soceri

vultum induit ac Pompeio cum proprias tum et filiae suae lacrimas reddidit, caput autem plurimis et pretiosissimis odoribus cremandum curavit.

The only marked change here is that the head is burned instead of being buried, but this may well have been made by Valerius himself. Lucan in the passage above cited has all the points characteristic of the Epitome, but has, no doubt, intentionally misrepresented the real feeling of Caesar. A second passage in *De vir. ill.* (77, 13) is a mere combination, part coming from Lucan and the rest directly or indirectly from Valerius Maximus.

VI. PLUTARCH.

The influence of the Epitome on Plutarch was first shown by Wölfflin (*Archiv f. Lat. Lex.* vol. 11 (1899), p. 273), but his pupil Drescher has added no new instances and in fact the Epitome seems to have had influence on Plutarch only very seldom; it was possibly never used at first hand. Two quite clear cases of his indebtedness to the Epitome I have treated above (pp. 208 and 220); I will add another possible one here. (See also below pp. 249, 259.)

Livy (33, 32, 1) describes the freeing of Greece as follows: *Isthmiorum statum ludicrum aderat . . . praeco cum tubicine . . . processit et . . . ita pronuntiat: senatus Romanus et T. Quinctius imperator . . . liberos, immunes, suis legibus esse iubet Corinthios, etc. . . percensuerat omnis gentis, quas sub ditione Philippi regis fuerant.*

With this description Val. Max. 4, 8, 5, Appian, *Mac.* 9, 4 and Plutarch, *Tit.* 10 all agree. Yet the Epitomator must have confused this with a second passage of Livy (34, 41, 3), where the freedom of the people of Argos is proclaimed at the Nemean Games. We may compare the following:

Florus, 1, 23, 12: (Philippo) consul . . . regnum concessit . . . grassantem sub Nabide suo Lacedaemona compescuit. Graeciae vero veterem statum reddidit, ut legibus viveret

suis et avita libertate frueretur. quae vociferationes fuerunt, cum hoc forte Nemeae in theatro quinquennialibus ludis a praecone caneretur;

De vir. ill. 51: (Philippum) in regnum restituit. A Nabide quoque Lacedaemonio filium obsidem accepit. Liberos etiam Graecos Nemeae per praeconem pronuntiavit;

Per. Liv. 34: T. Quintius Flamininus, qui Philippum Macedonum regem et Nabidem Lacedaemoniorum tyrannum vicerat Graeciamque omnem liberaverat.

Neither in this Periocha nor in the preceding one, where the liberation is also mentioned, is the place of proclamation named, but the fact that the order in the Periocha is identical with that of Florus and De vir. ill. shows that all used the same source. The Periochae mention the freedom of Greece twice, so the Epitome must have had both proclamations. The mistake consisted in making the second proclamation cover the whole of Greece, and this appears not only in Florus and De vir. ill. but also in Per. 34, where *Graeciam omnem liberaverat* is opposed to *Graecia liberata* of Per. 33.

In this form the mistake is exactly reproduced by Plutarch, Tit. 12, after he had mentioned the first proclamation in the passage cited above. He gives the second proclamation as follows: ὁ Τίτος . . . ἀγωνοθέτης δὲ Νεμείων ἀποδειχθεὶς ἐν Ἄργει τὴν τε πανήγυριν ἄριστα διέθηκε, καὶ πάλιν ἐκεῖ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ὑπὸ κήρυκος ἀνεῖπεν. Plutarch definitely states that this was a second proclamation, but it is hardly likely that it appeared thus in the Epitome. According to Livy both proclamations have to be given in order to cover all Greece, while according to the Epitome the second alone would suffice, hence the omission of the first in later writers.

VII. FRONTINUS.

Both Frontinus and Pseudo-Frontinus made use of the Epitome; for examples of the former compare Drescher, pp. 13 and 18 and above pp. 155 and 172; for examples of the

latter, Drescher, pp. 31, 37, 38 and 43 and above p. 197. To these instances we may add the following:

1) Per. Liv. 8.

laborantibus in acie Romanis P. Decius tunc consul cum Manlio devovit se pro exercitu et concitato equo cum in medios hostes se intulisset, interfectus morte sua Romanis victoriam restituit.

Val. Max. 5, 6, 5.

P. Decius . . . caput suum pro salute rei publicae devovit ac protinus concitato equo in medium hostium agmen, patriae salutem sibi mortem petens inrupit . . . telis obrutus . . . ex cula sanguine insperata victoria emersit.

Pseudo-Frontin.
4, 5, 15.

P. Decius, primo pater, postea filius, in magistratu se pro republica devoverunt admissisque in hostem equis adepti victoriam patriae contulerunt.

De vir. ill. 26, 5.

tum conlato cum conlega somnio, cum convenisset, ut, cuius cornu in acie laboraret, dis se Manibus voveret, inclinante sua parte se et hostes per Valerium pontificem dis Manibus devovit. Impetu in hostes facto victoriam suis reliquit.

Seneca, Ep. 7, 5, 9.

Decius se pro republica devovit: in medios hostes concitato equo mortem petens inruit.

Florus, 1, 9, 3.

alter quasi monitu deorum . . . diu Manibus se devoverit ut in confertissima se hostium tela iaculatus novum ad victoriam iter sanguinis sui limite aperiret.

That the Periocha has *pro exercitu* where the others have *pro republica* is probably due to chance, though it may indicate acquaintance with the entire Livy; compare 8, 9, 8: *pro republica, exercitu, legionibus . . . devoveo*. *Auctor de vir. ill. seems to have combined statements from another source, of which just a trace appears in the *monitu deorum* of Florus.

The important addition to Livy, which the Epitomator inserted, is that Decius with his life's blood restored victory to the Romans. This remark, in somewhat varied form,

appears in all the above authors except Seneca. Orosius, 3, 9, 3 was too much influenced by Florus to help us any in reconstructing the Epitome. Augustine, *De civ. Dei* 5, 18 and 4, 20¹ as well as Ampelius, 20, 6 are probably indebted to the Epitome, but are too brief to afford proof.

2) Per. Liv. 10.

cum adversus *Etruscos Umbros Samnites Gallos* P. Decio et Q. Fabio ducibus pugnaretur.

De vir. ill. 27.

(Decius Mus.) Quarto consulatu cum Fabio Maximo cum Galli Samnites Umbri Tusci contra Romanos conspirassent . . .

Orosius, 3, 21, 1.

Fabio Maximo V. Decio Mure IIII consulibus . . . *Etrusci Umbri Samnites et Galli* uno agmine conspirantes Romanos delere conati sunt.

Frontinus, 1, 8, 3.

Fabius Maximus quinto consul cum Gallorum et Umbrorum, *Etruscorum, Samnitium adversus* populum Romanum exercitus coissent.

Florus, 1, 12: *Bellum Etruscum Samniticum Gallicum* . . . *Etruscorum XII populi, Umbri* . . . *Samnitium* reliqui in excidium *Romani* nominis repente coniurant.

Florus has omitted the Umbrians in the heading and the Gauls in the text proper, but by comparing the two places we get the order of the names for the source as follows: *Etrusci, Umbri, Samnites, Galli*. Both the Periocha and Orosius have the same order, thus establishing it for the Epitome, though Livy, 10, 21, 12 named the Samnites before the Umbrians. Auctor de vir. ill. exactly reversed the order of the Epitome, but Frontinus seems to have arbitrarily confused it. Ampelius, 18, 6 has the same order as Livy, so this passage is probably not derived from the Epitome.

VIII. SUETONIUS.

I have already on pages 168, 172 and 212 called attention to three statements for which Suetonius seems to have used the Epitome as his source. All the passages were from the

¹ Cf. Ay, p. 28.

beginning of the life of Tiberius, where the distinguished members of the Claudian family are briefly mentioned. The whole passage bears marks of resemblance to the Epitome, though this is naturally stronger in some of the statements than in others. The following seem to me to show the influence of the Epitome most clearly:

1) Florus, 1, 18, 5.	Sueton. Tib. 2.	Vell. Paterc. 2, 38, 2.
<i>Appio Claudio consule primum fretum ingressus est . . .</i>	<i>Claudius Caudez primus fretu classe traiecit Poenos Sicillia expulit.</i>	<i>Primus in Siciliam traiecit exercitum consul Claudius.</i>

Orosius, 4, 7, 1.	De vir. ill. 37, 3.
<i>Appium Claudium consulem cum exercitu misere Romani . . . Poenos superavit.</i>	<i>(Appius Claudius Caudez) primo . . . fretum piscatoria nave traiecit . . . legionem in Siciliam traduxit. Karthaginienses Messana expulit.</i>

All the imitators seem to have greatly condensed the original version of the Epitome.

2) Per. Liv. 19.	Val. Max. 8, 1, dam. 4.	Sueton. Tib. 2.
<i>Claudia soror P. Claudii . . . a ludis revertens, cum turba premeretur, dixit "utinam frater meus viveret! iterum classem duceret."</i>	<i>Claudia . . . cum a ludis domum rediens turba elideretur, optaverat ut frater suus . . . reviresceret saepiusque consul factus infelici ductu nimis magnam urbis frequentiam minueret.</i>	<i>(Claudia) quod in conferta multitudine aegre procedente carpento palam optaverat ut frater suus Pulcher reviresceret atque iterum classem amitteret, quo minor turba Romae foret.</i>

We may also compare Gellius, 10, 6 for a more elaborate version assigned to Ateius Capito. Suetonius agrees most decidedly with Valerius, yet can not have used him as his source since the latter omitted the *iterum classem duceret*, which nevertheless is found in the Periocha. All three must have used the Epitome.

3) Per. Liv. 19.	Sueton. Tib. 2.	Val. Max. 1, 4, 3. (Epit. Nep.)
<i>Claudius Pulcher</i> eos contra auspicia profectus—iussit mergi pullos, qui cibari nobabant — infeliciter adversus Carthaginienses classe pugnavit et revocatus a senatu iussusque dictatorem dicere, Claudium Gliciam dixit sortis ultimae hominem.	<i>Claudius Pulcher</i> apud Siciliam non pascentibus in auspicando pullis ac per contemptum religionis mari demeris quasi ut biberent, quando esse nollent, proelium navale init: superatusque cum dictatorem dicere a senatu iuberetur . . . Gliciam viatorem suum dixit.	<i>P. Claudius</i> bello Punico, cum proelium navale committere vellet auspiciamque more maiorum petisset et pullarius non exire cavea pullos nuntiasset, abici eos in mare iussit dicens quia esse nolunt, bibant.

Entropius, 2, 26, 1.

P. Claudio Pulchro L. Iunio consulibus Claudius contra auspicia pugnavit et a Carthaginiensibus victus est.

Orosius, 4, 10, 3.

Claudius consul cum classe . . . contra hostem profectus, ubi mox exceptus classe Poenorum superatusque est.

The resemblance is most marked between the Periocha and Suetonius, yet we need to compare all five passages in order to obtain a complete picture of the version of the Epitome, which evidently was considerably condensed by each of its imitators. It is worthy of note particularly that the consul's name was Publius Claudius and that he lost his fleet in a naval battle. This is the correct version as given by Polybius, 1, 51, Aulus Gellius, 10, 6, 4 and others; yet Livy almost certainly differed on these two points. First let us compare the following:

Florus, 1, 18, 29: *Appio* Claudio consule non ab hostibus, sed a diis ipsis superatus est, quorum auspicia contempserat, ibi statim classe demersa, ubi ille praecipitari pullos iusserat, quod pugnare ab his vetaretur.

Val. Max. 8, 1, abs. 4: *Appius* Claudius, nescio religionis maior an patriae iniuria, si quidem illius vetustissimum morem neglexit, huius pulcherrimam classem amisit . . . ita cui maritima tempestas causae dictionem contraxerat . . .

Though these passages treat of different portions of the same story, we find two mistakes given by both. The consul's name is Appius instead of Publius and the fleet is lost in a storm. And yet both authors must have known the correct version from the Epitome, Valerius in fact repeating it in another passage. Therefore they must have followed a different source this time and that a common one. But this source, whether used directly or indirectly, can be no other than Livy as we see from the following citation:

Serv. ad Aen. 6, 198: Romani moris fuit . . . pullaria captare auguria. unde est in Livio quod cum quidam cupidus belli gerendi a tribuno plebis arceretur ne iret, pullos iussit adferri: qui cum missas non ederent fruges, inridens consul augurium ait "vel bibant" et eos praecipitavit in Tiberim; inde navibus . . . ad Africam tendens in mari cum omnibus quos ducebat extinctus est.

If we accept the authority of Servius, Livy must have stated that the fleet was lost by shipwreck; moreover the rest of the description agrees so completely with Florus that we can be certain the unnamed leader was Claudius. Inasmuch as Junius, the colleague of Claudius, lost his fleet in a storm (cf. Polybius, 1, 54 etc.), it is likely that Livy confused the two. From Censorinus, *De die nat.* 17, 10 (*Antiate Livioque auctoribus P. Claudio Pulchro L. Iunio Pullo cons.*) we might infer that Livy gave the name of the consul correctly, but the joint citation with Antias is sufficient to explain the correct form, even though Livy wrote App. Claudio Pulchro:¹ so this citation can hardly outweigh the agreement of Valerius Maximus, Florus and Servius. In correcting the version of Livy the Epitomator was influenced either by Cicero, *De nat. deo.* 2, 3, 7 or more likely by his source.

We might also compare the story of Claudia drawing the ship, given by Suetonius, *Tib.* 2, *Auctor de vir. ill.* 46, 2 and Appian, *Hann.* 56, as pointing toward the Epitome.

¹ See below p. 247 for a similar instance of inexact citation by Censorinus.

IX. EUSEBIUS-HIERONYMUS.

I have above on pp. 186, 188, 197, 210 and 212 called attention to five passages of Hieronymus, which were closely related to the Epitome. Of these the last three were certainly translated from Eusebius, while the same origin is possible for the first statement also. Whether Eusebius used the Epitome at first hand or not is a question which we can not decide with the scanty material available.

Among the other passages of Eusebius, which are naturally connected with the Epitome, attention should be called especially to those treating of the sin and punishment of Vestals. Of these we find parallels for the following:

Hieronymus-Eusebius a. Abr. 1739 =	Orosius, 4, 2, 8.
“ “ “ 1752 =	“ 4, 5, 9.
“ “ “ 1781 =	Per. Liv. 20.
“ “ “ 1802 =	“ “ 22.

In all these cases Eusebius omitted the name of the Vestal; so a more minute examination of the passages can do no more than establish a certain amount of inaccuracy in the dating.

In one case however Eusebius gave the name of the Vestal, thus furnishing, I believe, the opportunity to show definitely the influence of the Epitome. The statement appears in Hieronymus, the Armenian version of Eusebius and in Syncellus, 483, 7 without variation in form, so I quote from Hieronymus a. Abr. 1531: *Romae virgo Pompilia deprehensa in stupro viva defossa est*. From this Zangemeister claims Orosius, 2, 8, 13 was derived: *quo tempore Romae Popilia virgo qb crimen stupri viva defossa est*. Compare also Per. Liv. 2: *illia virgo Vestalis ob incestum viva defossa est*. Of the various corrections proposed for the letters *illia* before *virgo*, Popillia by Zangemeister is certainly right. This form therefore, whether spelled with one l or two must have stood in the Epitome and we see that Orosius was influenced by it to correct *Pompilia* of Hieronymus to *Popilia*,

and the change from *depraehensa* to *ob crimen* is due to the same source. The change to *Pompilia* by Eusebius was probably intentional as he might well connect the name with that of Numa Pompilius, the fabled founder of the order of Vestals, for, if the guilty Vestal belonged to the same family, her crime was even more heinous. The fact that Eusebius names this one Vestal alone, tends to support this view.

The certainty that the name *Popilia* (*Pompilia*) was due to the Epitome, is given by a comparison of Livy, 2, 42, 11: *ut Oppia virgo Vestalis damnata incesti poenas dederit*. Furthermore Dionysius Hal. 8, 89 gives the name Ὀππία, which supports Livy rather than the Epitome. Thus we see that the name *Popilia* was either a mistake or an invention of the Epitomator, so there can be little doubt that Eusebius derived the name from that source.

Hieronymus made use of the Epitome also in his additions to Eusebius as was shown by Haupt, Philol. vol. 44 (1885), p. 293. Of the six cases given by him the most striking are: No. 1: (the murder of Pompey) Hieronymus, 1969; Florus, 2, 13, 52; Per. Liv. 112; Appian, B. C. 2, 84: (Plutarch, Pomp. 77 was probably from the entire Livy); add Lucan, 8, 483 and 538. No. 4: (omens at death of Caesar) Hieronymus, 1973; Obsequens, 68; Dio Cassius, 45, 17 (for murder of Caesar see above p. 188). No. 5: (death of Cicero) Hieronymus, 1975; Dio Cassius, 47, 11; Per. Liv. 120; to be compared with frg. of Livy in Seneca, Suas. 6, 17.

X. OTHER IMITATORS.

Among other imitators of the Epitome we may mention first Servius ad Aen. This work was examined by Drescher, who has clearly shown the influence of the Epitome on thirteen passages.¹ On pages 188 and 195 above I have added

¹ Maurenbrecher, Sallust. hist. rel. proleg. p. 10, had already suggested this indebtedness.

two more to this list and there are doubtless still others, though the careless and condensed character of the references will prevent absolute proof in most cases.

An occasional user of the Epitome was Lactantius, as Drescher has shown for some five passages.¹ Yet far more often he used the entire Livy, to which is to be referred the passage *Institut. divin.* 5, 13, 13, which Klotz (*Rhein. Mus.* vol. 56 (1901), p. 441) wished to refer to the Epitome. Drescher (p. 22) rightly omitted this, when discussing the other passages concerning Mucius Scaevola.

On the other hand I am unable to accept the Auctor *orig. gent. Rom.* as a direct imitator of the Epitome, until better proofs are found than those given by Drescher (pp. 4 and 5). These two cases I have rejected above, pp. 157 and 170.

The indebtedness of Ammianus Marcellinus to the Epitome was suggested by Maurenbrecher (l. l.) and by Mommsen (*Hermes*, vol. 16 (1881), p. 609), but no decisive cases have as yet been presented. See above pp. 196 and 218.

I have also, in the preceding pages, added to our evidence of imitation in the rhetorician Seneca a single passage (p. 155); in the philosopher Seneca, three passages (pp. 155, 211, 238), to which are to be added two noted by Drescher (pp. 22, 45); in Velleius Paterculus various passages (pp. 171, 210, 214, 225, 240); in Quintilian, one passage (p. 171), to which one given by Drescher (p. 40) is to be added; and also on pp. 188 and 210 I have noted two instances of indebtedness to the Epitome on the part of the Chronograph a. 354; likewise on p. 171 one case of the use of the Epitome by Vegetius, one by Columella (p. 211) and one by Cl. Claudianus (p. 195). For the legal writer Pomponius see below p. 256.

Possibly we can add still another author to this list by comparing some passages discussed by Ay, p. 20. There he

¹ See also above p. 163.

refers to the Epitome, Augustine, De civ. Dei 3, 14: *Horatiorum soror: haec . . . quoniam fluit, occisa est; De vir. ill. 4, 8: sororem . . . quae . . . flere coepit, frater eam occidit; Florus, 1, 1, (3, 5) flentem . . . sororem viderat, . . . ultus est ferro.* The verb *flere* is noteworthy, as Livy only suggests it by the words *febiliter* and *comploratio*. The same expression occurs in Victorinus in rhet. Ciceronis 2, 26: *Horati, qui sororem suam flentem interfecit.*

IV. NON-LIVIAN STATEMENTS IN THE EPITOME AND THEIR PROBABLE SOURCES.

It is not my intention here to repeat the non-Livian statements previously referred to the Epitome except in so far as one here or there may throw some faint light on the question of its source. And yet the character of the divergences from Livy is of itself an interesting question and might well give us a hint as to the character and aim of the Epitomator. Many of these variations are in reality only changes in form, accompanied by errors of memory or of carelessness. To this class belong the names of the consuls, which were regularly given in the ablative absolute¹ by the Epitomator, though Livy had made them the subjects or objects of their respective sentences. This fact in regard to the Epitome is learned mostly from a comparison of Cassiodorus, Obsequens, Eutropius and Orosius.

A consideration of the same authors raises the question whether the Epitome regularly combined dates with the names of the consuls. This can be answered decidedly in the negative, though the descendants often present such combinations. It must be noted first that Livy very seldom gives dates reckoned from the founding of the city; yet some of these appear unchanged in the Periochae, Eutropius or Orosius. Thus Livy, 3, 33, 1 dates the

¹ Cf. Mommsen, Abhand. d. kön. S. Gesel. d. Wiss. vol. 8, p. 552 ff.

decemvirs 302 A. U. C., which is repeated by Per. Liv. 3 and Eutropius, 1, 18, 1, while Orosius, 2, 13, 2 is different. Livy, 31, 1 gives by easy combination 551 A. U. C. for the beginning of the war against Philip, and this date appears also in Eutropius, 4, 2, 1 and probably in Per. Liv. 31. A date appears in Per. Liv. 47 for which we have no parallels, but in Per. 49 the beginning of the third Punic war is 602 A. U. C., and the same appears in both Eutropius and Orosius. In Censorinus, *De die nat.* 17, 11, we find Antias, Varro and Livy cited for the statement that a certain event occurred in the consulship of L. Marcus and M. Manilius, 605 A. U. C., and these are the consuls who began the third Punic war. This date is in accord with the Varronian Era, so the date of the Epitome was three years too early. If we believe Censorinus, Livy gave the correct date, but the loose citation of three authors known to disagree regularly in chronology can hardly be accepted as proof that all had the same date. It would be sufficient if they agreed in the names of the consuls. In fact we may be reasonably sure that Livy gave the date of these consuls as 602 A. U. C., as it stood in the Epitome, for this would agree exactly with his chronology from the year 300 B. C. on. Compare 10, 5, 14, where he omits three years given in the *Fasti*. In agreement with this 31, 1, 4 (the beginning of the first Punic war) is regularly corrected from 488 A. U. C. of the MSS. to 487 A. U. C., thus preserving the variation of three years from the *Fasti*. We may compare also the regular correction of Livy, 34, 54, 6. Another date agreed in by Per. Liv. 51, Eutropius, 4, 12, 3 and Orosius, 4, 23, 6 is that Carthage was destroyed in its 700th year. Therefore this can also be referred to the Epitome and in turn to Livy.

If now we compare the many other dates in Eutropius and Orosius, we find that they have neither agreement with one another (except for a few copied by Orosius)

nor consistency with themselves. Eutropius varies from one to five years either way from the Varronian reckoning, while Orosius, with greater seeming regularity, is generally farther removed from the accepted chronology. It is clear from this brief survey that there is no unanimity on the matter of dates among the descendants of the Epitome except where there is good reason for believing that Livy himself gave the same date.

Turning now to the question of sources, I shall discuss a few more passages, where the form of the Epitome seems to indicate imitation of some other author than Livy.

1) Drescher (p. 14) claimed for the Epitome Florus, 1, 1 (4, 1): Ancus Marcius *nepos Pompilii ex filia*;
De vir. ill. 5, 1: Ancus Marcius *Numae Pompilii ex filia nepos*;
Eutropius, 1, 5: Ancus Marcius *Numae ex filia nepos*.

Somewhat different is Livy, 1, 32, 1: *Numae Pompili regis nepos, filia ortus, Ancus Marcius*. But Cicero, De re pub. 2, 18, 33 is the same as the Epitome: *Numae Pompili nepos ex filia . . . Ancus Marcius*. Therefore it is likely that the Epitomator was influenced by Cicero or his source in changing the wording of Livy. But inasmuch as Cicero can hardly be accused of slavishly copying the phraseology of his predecessors, it seems probable that the De re publica was known to the Epitomator and that we have here a reminiscence of it.

2) Ay (p. 12) refers to the Epitome Augustine, De civ. Dei, 2, 17: Iunius Brutus consul Lucium Tarquinium Collatinum . . . collegam suum . . . coegit magistratu se abdicare (= 3, 16);
Per. Liv. 2: Tarquinium Collatinum collegam suum . . . coegit consulatu se abdicare;
Eutropius, 1, 9: Tarquinio Collatino sublata est dignitas; Obsequens, 70: constat neminem, qui magistratum collegae abstulerat, annum vixisse; abrogaverunt autem Lucius Iunius Brutus consul Tarquinio Collatino . . . ;
Florus, 1, 3, 3: Lucretiae maritum . . . fascibus abrogatis urbe dimitterent.

The important point is that Collatinus was compelled to resign, whereas Livy, 2, 2, 3-10 represents the withdrawal as voluntary. Yet later in a speech (4, 15, 4) he says of Collatinus *abdicare se magistratu iussum*. We may compare also Cicero, *De re pub.* 2, 53; *Collatinum innocentem . . . expulerunt*. So we may be sure that some Roman annalist had this version of the story. Either such an annalist or the passage of Cicero influenced the Epitomator in making the change, for it is not likely that he would have followed a chance utterance in a speech of Livy so far removed from the passage he was copying.

3) Drescher (p. 23) makes the Epitome authority for a special version of the Cloelia story. He compares the following:

Val. Max. 3, 2, 2: *nocturno tempore custodiam egressa equum conscendit celerique traiectu fluminis obsidio se solvit;*

De vir. ill. 13: *quæ deceptis custodibus noctu castris eius egressa equum . . . arripuit et Tiberim traiecit;*

Florus, 1, 4, 7: *elapsa custodiae Cloelia, per patrium flumen equitabat;*

Per. Liv. 2: *Cloelia deceptis custodibus per Tiberim ad suos tranavit;*

Servius ad Aen. 8, 646: *ex quibus Cloelia inventa occasione transnavavit fluvium.*

Important to note is that Cloelia escaped alone and on horseback. Livy, 2, 13, 6 makes Cloelia the leader but has all the maiden hostages escape by swimming across the Tiber. Dionysius Hal. 5, 33, 1 has the same version with the addition that they obtained the opportunity to escape while bathing. Plutarch, *Public.* 19 combines this with the version of the Epitome, stating that Cloelia rode on horseback and the others swam. Plutarch, *Virtutes mulierum* 250 c, has the same except that the Epitome version is stated as a variant.

In order to discover the origin of the change made by the Epitomator, we must note two other points in the story; first, the present to Cloelia from Porsenna was, according to Livy (2, 13, 9), the freedom of the younger hostages, but according to Dionysius Hal. (5, 34, 4), a war horse richly equipped, versions which are repeated or combined by later historians. In the second place, there was an equestrian statue to Cloelia on the *via Sacra*, as we learn from Servius ad *Aen.*, *De vir. ill.*,¹ and Seneca, *Dial.* 6, 16, 2. The existence of the statue is certain, but its explanation by no means simple, for Pliny (34, 29) gives three versions of its origin: 1) that it was erected by the state in honor of Cloelia; 2) that the donors were the hostages saved by Cloelia; 3) that it was the statue of another hostage, Valeria, daughter of Publicola. The second statement, for which Piso was source, is accepted by Pliny. Plutarch, *Virtutes mulierum* 250 f, has the first and third versions, but also states that 'many considered that the statue represented Cloelia crossing the river on horseback'. There can be no question that the statue caused the invention of the story about the escape on horseback, but we can find no evidence that this version had been invented before the time of the Epitomator, who may well have known the statue, as Seneca says that it existed in his time. Doubtless there were also oral traditions about it, current among the common people, and to one of these I prefer to ascribe the change, inasmuch as nothing points to an earlier literary form of this version, in spite of the repeated mention of Cloelia by so many authors.

4) Ay (p. 13)² referred the story of Sp. Maelius to the Epitome. The imitators follow:

¹ This author carelessly locates the statue in the forum and *Per. Liv.* 2 mentions the statue without locating it.

² Compare also *Quellencont.* p. 47.

Per. Liv. 4: Sp. Maelius . . . regnum adfectans a C. Servilio Ahala magistro equitum iussu Quinti Cincinnati dictatoris occisus est;

De vir. ill. 17, 5: (Cincinnatus) dictator dictus Sp. Maelium regnum adfectantem a Servilio Ahala magistro equitum occidi iussit;

Augustine, De civ. Dei 3, 17: Sp. Maelius . . . regni adfectati crimen incurrit . . . per dictatorem L. Quinctium . . . a Q. Servilio magistro equitum . . . occisus est;

Ampelius, 27, 2: Maelius . . . iussu Quintii Cincinnati dictatoris a magistro equitum in rostris occisus est.

Compare also Val. Max. 5, 3, 2 g.

The essential point is that Ahala kills Maelius at the command of the dictator. Livy (4, 13-15) states that Ahala killed Maelius when he resisted arrest, and that the dictator learned of the deed only after its completion. The same version appears in Cicero, Pro Milone 27, 72, but Dionysius Hal. 12, 4, on the authority of Cincius and Piso denies the dictatorship of Cincinnatus, and has Ahala act under orders of the senate. Zonaras, 7, 20 states that it was doubtful whether Ahala acted by the command of the dictator or on his own authority. Yet his source, Dio Cassius, may have had no authorities beyond Livy and the Epitome. Nevertheless the Epitomator did not invent his version for we find it in a work well known to him.

Compare Cicero, De senec. 16, 56: *cuius dictatoris iussu magister equitum C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Maerium regnum appetentem occupatum interemit*. The resemblance is most striking, yet Cicero can not have been the direct source of any of the later writers as all have *regnum adfectans* instead of *regnum appetentem*. It is probable that the Epitomator copied his version from this popular work of Cicero, though we can not deny the possibility that Cicero's source (an annalist?) was used instead.

5) Livy in the fifth book makes no mention of the length of the siege of the Capitol by the Gauls, but Per. Liv. 5 and Florus, 1, 7, 15 both state that it lasted six months, as

Ay (p. 48) has already stated. To these we may add Orosius, 2, 19, 13, so there can be no question that the Epitome gave this length to the siege. But the siege lasted seven months according to Polybius, 2, 22, who was copied by Plutarch, Camill. 28, and the latter in turn by Polyaeus, 8, 7, 2 and Zonaras, 7, 23. The correctness of the text is thus amply vouched for both in Polybius and the Epitome, yet it seems likely that the duration of the siege according to both must be traced eventually to the Roman annalists. The number in Polybius is doubtless the one given by Fabius Pictor, whom Polybius is known to have used on other occasions. The Epitomator however drew from a later annalist, in whose work the number had been reduced from VII to VI, probably by a mere mistake in MSS. transmission.

6) Ay (p. 14)¹ called attention to the peculiar wording of the story of Mettius Curtius. The passages are:

Augustine, De civ. Dei 5, 18: Curtius armatus equo concito in abruptum hiatum terrae praecipitem se dedit;

Per. Liv. 7: telluris hiatu . . . in eam Curtius armatus sedens equo praecipitavit;

Orosius, 3, 5, 2: praecipitio sui M. Curtius, vir eques armatus; Val. Max. 5, 6, 2: hiatu terra . . . Curtius . . . praecipitem in profundum se egit;

Seneca, Controv. 8, 4: Curtius deiciendo se in praecipitem locum.

Though these authors agree in general with Livy, all differ in having some form of the word *praecipitare* or *praiceps*. Yet the Epitomator seems to have followed the conventional form of the story in this change, if the work of Procilius, which Varro (L. L. 5, 148) cites, was in fact a guide book of the city,² for his description is very similar: *Curtium virum fortem armatum ascendisse in equum et . . . cum equo eum praecipitatum*. Possibly the similarity is to be explained on the basis that Livy, the Epitomator and Procilius all made use of the same later annalist.

¹ Compare also Quellencont. p. 47.

² Cf. Schanz, Röm. Litt. vol. I, p. 197.

Let us now sum up our results, taking into consideration also instances of a non-Livian source noted by Drescher and in the earlier part of this paper. For the sake of simplicity and accuracy I omit all mere guesses, as those of Wölflin (*Archiv f. Lat. Lex.* vol. 11 (1898), p. 8 and 80), however reasonable they may seem, and merely state the extant works or fragments to which the Epitome has been shown to be related.

Relationship of the Epitome to the following authors has been proved:

- 1) Cicero, *De nat. deo.* 2, 2, 6; cf. Drescher, p. 25.
- 2) Augustin, *De civ. Dei* 3, 17 (= Sallust, *Hist. frag.*); cf. Drescher, p. 26.
- 3) Sallust, *Cat.* 52, 30; cf. Drescher, p. 37.
- 4) Pliny, 34, 22 (*Antias* or *Piso*); see above p. 156.
- 5) Cicero, *De div.* 1, 26, 55 (= *Coelius*); see above p. 163.
- 6) Livy, 5, 54, 7 (= *annalist*); see above p. 176.
- 7) Aul. Gellius, 9, 13, 18 (= *Claudius Quad.*); see above p. 196.
- 8) Sallust cited by *Ampelius*, 30, 4; see above p. 205.
- 9) Cicero, *De senec.* 44; see above p. 213.
- 10) Cicero, *De senec.* 60; Aul. Gellius, 9, 11 (= *Claudius Quad.*); see above p. 218.
- 11) Aul. Gellius, 17, 21, 39 (= *Varro* or *Nepos*); *Dionysius Hal.* 20; see above p. 231.
- 12) Cicero, *De nat. deo.* 2, 3, 7; see above p. 242.
- 13) Cicero, *De re pub.* 2, 18, 33; " " p. 248.
- 14) Cicero, *De re pub.* 2, 53; " " p. 249.
- 15) Cicero, *De senec.* 16, 56; " " p. 251.
- 16) Polybius, 2, 22 (= *annalist*); " " p. 252.
- 17) Varro, *L. L.* 5, 148 (= *Procilius frag.* = *annalist*), see above p. 252.
- 18) To these we may add the passage discussed on p. 250, for, although no literary source could be shown, the non-Livian statement owed its origin to a statue existing in Rome at the time of the Epitomator.

I have no doubt that many more passages can and in time will be collected, showing indebtedness of the Epitomator to authors other than Livy, but enough has already been gathered to show the futility of supposing that some one or at most two additional sources were used by him in his divergences from Livy. It seems likely that Valerius Antias was one of the sources (cf. No. 4, possibly Nos. 6 and 16), likewise Claudius Quadrigarius (cf. Nos. 7 and 10 and perhaps some of the Cicero passages as Nos. 1 and 12), also Coelius Antipater (cf. No. 5). Furthermore Cicero was used directly (cf. Nos. 9 and 13), also Sallust (cf. Nos. 2, 3 and 8), and we have still left some very doubtful cases, as No. 11 (Varro or Nepos), No. 17 (Procilius or his source), etc.

If after noting this great variety of sources, we consider also the character of the changes and additions, including above all verbal reminiscences of striking phrases, exaggerations pleasing to national pride, exaltation of popular heroes or heroines and omission of their humbler associates, detailed descriptions of horrible deeds, mention of dreams, omens and the like, confusion of names and the succession of events and finally the incorporation of names and stories current at the time of the author, we shall be ready to believe that the Epitomator was a scholar well versed in Roman legend, history and historians, but that, in writing the Epitome, he relied too much on his memory and not enough on the actual comparison of the statements of Livy. From memory or from a collection of excerpts came also the corrections and additions to the historical statements of Livy.

As Livy also did on rare occasions, so the Epitomator wrote what he preferred to believe and likewise what he knew his readers would prefer to hear. As an author he was by no means a weakling, for he not only produced a version of Roman history, destined to last unchanged for many centuries, but he cast it in a rhetorical form adapted to the schoolroom, the declamation-hall and the author's study, and likewise adorned the whole with striking phrases and

expressive words which inseparably associated themselves with the events described and, as long as Roman rule lasted, were ever present in the mind of the speaker or writer who chanced to make mention of these occurrences. Yet though great his work and lasting his influence, he seems to the Romans, who used his history, to have been nameless, for his work was called *historia Livii* or *Epitoma Livii* or *historia Romana* or even *historia* and the author's name was never mentioned.

So his name has remained thus far unknown, yet we know the time when he lived and perhaps the place where. For the latter of these we may hazard as a guess, Rome, relying on the fact that his version of the Cloelia legend shows the influence of a story, which must have grown up in Rome about the equestrian statue of Cloelia and seems not to have appeared in literature before his time. The composition of the Epitome I have already dated in the latter half of the reign of Tiberius, though before 30 A. D. (cf. Quellencont. p. 49) and I am now able to add a single instance of internal evidence seeming to support this view.

In describing the public works of Appius Claudius Caecus, Livy, 9, 29, 6, says: *censura Appii Claudii . . . memorias felicioris ad posteros nomen Appi, quod viam munivit et aquam in urbem duxit*. He does not give the distinctive name either to the road or the aqueduct, though he plainly implies both *via Appia* and *aqua Appia*. That the name Appia was correctly applied to the aqueduct as well as to the road is further vouched for by Diodorus Siculus, 20, 36, 2, Frontinus, De aquis 1, 5, Festus, p. 24 (M), Pliny, N. H. 36, 121 etc., yet it was certainly otherwise named in the Epitome.

Compare Per. Liv. 9: Appius Claudius censor aquam Claudiam perduxit, viam stravit quae Appia vocata est; Eutropius, 2, 9, 3: Appius Claudius censor aquam Claudiam induxit et viam Appiam stravit; Cassiodorus, 442: per Appium Claudium censorem via facta

et aqua inducta est, quae ipsius nomine nuncupantur; Pomponius (= Digest. Justiniani 1, 2, 2, 36): Appius Claudius . . . Appiam viam stravit et aquam Claudiam induxit; De vir. ill. 34, 7 may also be compared on the general form of expression, though the distinctive name *Claudia* has been crowded out.

This change of name in the Epitome must have been intentional, for at that time the *aqua Appia* was too well known to admit of a mistake. Yet later the change was impossible, for there was another aqueduct of the name *Claudia*, begun by Caligula early in his reign and finished and named by Claudius (cf. Frontinus, De aquis, 1, 13; Pliny, N. H. 36, 122). It is clear from this that the name *Claudia* would not have been intentionally given to the old *aqua Appia* after the naming of the new aqueduct.¹ Neither is it likely that the name of an old aqueduct would have been changed in honor of the emperor, either in the reign of Caligula or Claudius, for the new aqueducts, which would more naturally claim this honor, were already in process of construction. This naturally confines us to the reign of Tiberius for the attempted change of name, where it seems particularly natural; for Tiberius was both the first emperor from the Claudian family, the famous members and achievements of which were thereby brought to the public attention, as illustrated by Suetonius, Tib. 2, and the fact that Augustus had given his name to an aqueduct (cf. Frontinus, De aquis, 11: *aqua Alsietina, quae vocatur Augusta*, and C. I. L. XI, 3772 a) might well have aroused a like desire on the part of his successor or the over zealous flatterers of the latter.

After learning so much concerning the Epitomator, I can not help wishing eventually to discover his name;

¹In much later time the aqueducts named *Appia* and *Claudia* might well have been confused, but this is not a sufficient explanation for the change of name in the Epitome before the time of Pomponius (84-162 A. D.).

and while our information is at present far too meager for me to venture a positive assertion in regard to the matter, I may perhaps be permitted to hazard a guess. It was long since decided that Livy could not have been his own Epitomator, since the literary characteristics of the two authors are so different; and yet the Epitome seems to have been written in Rome not later than a dozen years after Livy's death. We may note further that when an Epitome appeared at practically the same time as the parent work, both were from the hand of the same author. As examples we may cite Varro (*Imagines*, *Lingua Lat.*, etc.), Vitruvius (*De archit.*), Lactantius (*Div. inst.*) and perhaps Fenestella. On the other hand the Epitomes of Mago, Polybius, Coelius, Valerius Maximus, Pompeius Trogus and others, which were not from the hand of the author of the original work, are all from a much later period. It seems therefore necessary to connect the authorship of the Epitome in some way with Livy or his household, even though the author be some younger relative or freedman or slave. Such an authorship also furnishes the only rational explanation for the name Livy being the only one joined with the Epitome. An author of such ability as the Epitomator, moreover, is not likely to have published his work quite anonymously, even if out of filial respect he refrained from placing his name in the title. During the first century A. D. the name of the Epitomator must have been known; and yet Seneca (*Nat. quaes.* 5, 16, 4) cites an undoubted fragment of the Epitome under the sole name, Livy.

It seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that the author of the Epitome was Livy; and if not the great historian, then perhaps his son. Titus Livius, the son, is known to us as an author only from being named by Pliny among his sources for the 5th and 6th books of the *Natural History*. Though these two books are devoted to geography

it is not likely that the work of T. Livius filius was geographical, for he is cited near the end of the list of Roman sources for each book; so he can have been used only for a chance reference or two. If he wrote the Epitome that may well have been the work used by Pliny and if so we may hope to find some recognizable fragments in books 5 and 6 of the *Naturalis historia*.

The first result of my search was a statement agreeing with two authors referred to the Epitome by Drescher, §102. The passages are Eutropius, 4, 5, 2: *apud Libyssam in finibus Nicomedensium sepultus est*; and De vir. ill. 42, 6: *positus apud Libyssam in arca lapidea, in qua hodie quoque inscriptum est: Hannibal hic situs est*. Auctor de vir. ill. can not have used Eutropius as his source, for he presents a more complete version. Therefore the two must have used a common source. But all the surrounding statements both in Eutropius and De vir. ill. have been shown to be from the Epitome by Drescher, so the natural inference is that this statement came from the same source. Let us now compare Pliny, N. H. 5, 148: *fuit et Libyssa oppidum ubi nunc Hannibalis tantum tumulus est et in intimo sinu Nicomedia Bithyniae praeclara*. Note particularly the *nunc* in Pliny and *hodie* in De vir. ill. The expression must be referred to the source in both cases and as the agreement is perfect in other respects also, we may accept it as certain that all used a common source. But Eutropius and Auctor de vir. ill. used the Epitome, therefore this work or possibly its source must have been used by Pliny. How does this accord with Pliny's citation of T. Livius filius as one of his sources for this book? Pliny enumerates his authorities for each book in the order in which they were first cited or used without mention (cf. above p. 156). Now in book 5 the Roman authorities with the first citation, wherever expressed, are as follows: Agrippa, §9, Suetonius Paulinus, §14, M. Varro, Varro Atacinus, Cornelius Nepos, §4, Hyginus, L. Vetus, Mela, Domitius Corbulo, §83,

Licinius Mucianus, §50, Claudius Caesar, §63, Arruntius, Livius filius, Sebosus, acta triumphorum. It is plain from this that Livius filius was used by Pliny later than §63 and as the passage which we refer to the Epitome is found in §148, there is here at least no contradiction.

But if Livius filius was the author of the Epitome we have a right to expect the presence of at least one more fragment somewhat nearer to §63 than the fragment above discovered. Such an one I think I have found in §86: *Zeugma . . . transitu Euphratis nobile, ex adverso Apameam Seleucus, idem utriusque conditor, ponte iunxerat*. Note-worthy is the mistake of referring the building of the bridge to Seleucus. Pliny, 34, 150 states that it was built by Alexander the Great. In agreement with this Dio Cassius, 40, 17, 3 says that Alexander gave the name to the town by crossing here and Lucan, 8, 237 calls it Zeugma Pellaeum. Dio Cassius also gives a very full list of the evil omens, which attended the passage of the Euphrates by Crassus, while a smaller number is found in Plutarch, Crass. 19, Obsequens, 64, and Florus, 1, 46, 4. Eutropius, 6, 18, 1 merely mentions that there were bad omens, while Per. Liv. 106 and Orosius, 6, 13, 2 give only the passage of the Euphrates. From this it seems clear that there were fewer omens mentioned in the Epitome than in Livy for this occasion. So we may assume that Dio Cassius used the entire Livy, Plutarch is perhaps doubtful, but all the others used the Epitome. The name of the town Zeugma appeared also in the Epitome for it is found in Florus, and likewise in Plutarch. Judging from Dio Cassius the entire Livy told of the founding of the town as well, and it is likely that the Epitome had some such statement, but it appears in none of the descendants, so we can not prove whether the Epitomator made Alexander or Seleucus the founder. Yet we may be quite certain that Livius filius would not have been cited as a source, if he was merely reproducing statements from the well known Livy. However, the fact

remains that, plausible as the explanation may seem, we have no proof from the descendants of the Epitome.

Turning now to Pliny, book 6, for which T. Livius filius is also cited as a source, we find by a comparison of the citations of the other authors that Livius filius must have been first used as a source somewhere between sections 27 and 60. Searching for historical statements we find two notable ones. One in §120: *ductu Pompei Magni terminus Romani imperii Oruros a Zeugmate COL*; the other in §43: *Ecbatana caput Mediae Seleucus rex condidit*. This is an even worse blunder than the one in book 5 and again Seleucus is the hero. It seems necessary to refer the two mistakes to the same author, who had probably been led astray by some eulogist of King Seleucus who described repairs or rebuildings in so extravagant a style, that a Roman author ignorant of the places supposed the founding was meant. For us the important matter is that the strange statement occurs each time where we expect to find a concealed fragment of Livius filius. Furthermore all these passages are historical in character, and might well have appeared in the Epitome. Such conjectures as these are not however proof, though they may be used as confirmatory evidence. As real proof we have only the one agreement of Pliny with an accepted fragment of the Epitome in a passage for which Livius filius is a possible, or at most a probable source.

THE PRINCIPALES OF THE EARLY EMPIRE.

The administrative reforms of the Diocletian-Constantine epoch, far reaching as they were in their scope and effect, were made nevertheless on the basis of the administration, such as it was, in existence when Diocletian came to the throne. A necessary step, therefore, to the proper understanding of those reforms is a preliminary consideration of the situation as Diocletian found it. We are compelled to rely in the main on epigraphic sources for the period immediately preceding Diocletian's reign because of the great break in our literary sources of the better type, i. e., of historical works written by those who were eye witnesses of the events which they describe, between the year 238, when Herodian's work comes to an end, and the middle of the next century, when Eutropius and Victor, followed by Ammianus Marcellinus, take up the thread of history contemporaneous with themselves.¹

It is the object of this paper to study one particular phase of administrative change made in the Diocletian-Constantine period; namely, the change in the character and functions of the *principales*, those subalterns of the army between the rank of common soldier and centurion, corresponding roughly to the non-commissioned officers and men detailed from the ranks for special duties in modern armies. The significance of the history of the *principalitas* for the

¹ This statement leaves out of account the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* who ostensibly write at the beginning of the fourth century of events immediately preceding or contemporaneous with themselves. But until it is proved definitely that these writers belong at the beginning of this century, and not at its close, the above statement may go uncontradicted; cf. Dessau in *Hermes*, vol. 24 (1889), pp. 337-392 and Seeck in *Rhein. Mus.* vol. 49 (1894), pp. 208-224.

social life of the state is indicated by Hirschfeld¹ in his reference to the disappearance of the subordinate officials of the civil service in the third century, which he thinks was due to the fact that their functions were taken by the *principales*. The extent and significance of this change have never been worked out, so far as I am aware. Taking Cauer's list of the inscriptions referring to the *principales*, I shall attempt to show the growth of this institution in the first three centuries of the imperial period.²

It will be found that the influence of Septimius Severus shows most prominently in the development of this institution, as is indicated by Hirschfeld, but that the influence of Vespasian and of Hadrian prepares the way for the later changes. The strong military government of Septimius Severus absorbed the civil service, but the military anarchy under his successors, resulting from his policy of throwing aside the worn out constitutional forms of the dyarchy and openly acknowledging that the army was supreme, caused the collapse of the state. This is reflected faithfully in the disappearance of nearly all epigraphic evidence referring to the *principales* by the beginning of the last quarter of the third century.

In order to attain these results the inscriptions of Cauer's list have been considered with reference to the chronological periods in which they fall. They have been classified in three general subdivisions; first, those that can be definitely assigned to a particular epoch (marked a); second,

¹ Römische Verwaltungsgeschichte 1, p. 279; cf. Kuhn, Verfassung des Römischen Reiches 1, p. 152 and Bethmann-Hollweg, Civilprozess 2, p. 157 f.

² See Cauer, De muneribus militariis centurionatu inferioribus, Eph. Ep. vol. 4, p. 355-481; cf. Mommsen-Marquardt, Handbuch der Röm. Alterthümer, vol. 5, p. 544, Anm. 9: "In dieser Abhandlung ist das Materiel ziemlich vollständig zusammengetragen, doch ist der Verfasser zu einer systematischen Durcharbeitung des Gegenstandes nicht vorgeschritten."

those that probably fall within certain periods (marked b); third, those whose latest possible date can be fixed but whose earlier limit can not be determined (marked c). The second list is significant only in the fact that the fluctuations in it correspond in a general way to those of the first list. The value of the third list depends upon the fact that the institutions mentioned in it disappeared, from the inscriptions at least, as early as the last date. There is a considerable number of inscriptions for which no chronological data are attainable. These of course have no value for the purpose of this investigation.

TESTS FOR DATES.

The tests useful for dating these inscriptions are in the main institutional. One historical change, the evacuation of Dacia, has been of value. Variations in grammatical forms have been helpful in a few instances. Unfortunately the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* gives so little information of a paleographic nature that not much can be done on that side. The information in regard to the use of apices and long 'i' in Christiansen's¹ thesis has aided in fixing the dates of a few inscriptions. The following tests have been used:

A. Names of Soldiers.

In the imperial period a foreigner on becoming a naturalized citizen of the Roman state usually took as his gentile name that of the reigning emperor.² Legionary soldiers from the second century of the empire and praetorians from the time of Severus gained citizenship on their entrance into the service.³

¹ *De apicibus et i longis inscriptionum Latinarum*, Kiel, 1889.

² Cagnat, *Cours D'Epigraphie Latine*, p. 75.

³ *Hermes*, vol. 16 (1881), p. 474, note 1.

The value of this test is not very high. Usually only the date before which an inscription can not come is fixed by it. The subsequent date can not be determined by it, because an individual with the name of Flavius, for example, may be a more or less remote descendant of a soldier of Flavius Vespasianus. We find, furthermore, the name Flavius reappearing in the name of Constantine and his successors. Names that show the praenomen as well as the gentile name of the emperor may be with more probability assigned to the immediate influence of the emperor than those containing the gentile name alone. Military inscriptions containing the name of an emperor applied to several soldiers may be assigned with a high degree of probability to the emperor named, as for example, in the inscription cited by Mommsen in his article, *Die Conscriptionsordnung der Röm. Kaiserzeit*.¹

Occasionally the *Prosopographia*² aids us in fixing the date of an inscription, even of a private soldier, in case a commander of senatorial or knightly rank is referred to in connection with the soldier.

B. Quaestor of Africa.

During the reign of Septimius Severus the *quaestor Africae* was succeeded in the management of the financial affairs of the Province of Numidia by an imperial procurator.³

A man might have held office under a *quaestor Africae* in his youth, and at his death many years later this would be mentioned in his list of offices, but, granting this, the latest probable date of such an inscription would not be beyond the latter part of the third century. Often the age of the person mentioned is given and then a more exact reckoning can be made.

¹ *Hermes*, vol. 19 (1884), p. 9.

² *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*, Berlin, 1897.

³ Mommsen-Marquardt, *Röm. Alt.*, vol. 4, p. 470 f.

C. Praefectus Castrorum.

It was the custom of Augustus to attach to the provincial legates a subordinate praefect, devoted to the interests of the prince because of long service in the imperial army. During the first century this officer was called simply *praefectus castrorum*, without the name of a legion attached, for the reason that frequently there would be several legions in one camp. After Domitian assigned each legion a separate camp, controlled by its own praefect, the word *castrorum* ceased to be given and this officer was regularly called *praefectus legionis*. Severus crystallized this usage and thus gave to the name *praefectus legionis* a specific titular value.¹

From this we may conclude that,

(1) the mention of a *praefectus castrorum* without reference to the legion indicates that the inscription belongs to the first century;

(2) the mention of a *praefectus castrorum legionis* indicates that the inscription was written after Domitian and before Severus.

D. Procurator Ostiae.

The last mention of a *procurator Ostiae* is in the year 211 A. D.²

The same reasoning will apply here as in Test B, for individuals dying many years after their term of service under a *procurator Ostiae*, but inscriptions referring to such individuals would probably fall not later than 275 A. D.

E. Disappearance of the Tribe.

The extension of citizenship to all free subjects of the empire by the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, in 212 A. D.³

¹ Eph. Ep. vol. 1, p. 104.

² Hirschfeld, Röm. Verwaltungsgeschichte, I, p. 141, note 1.

³ Cf. C. I. C. Dig. 1, 5, 17.

deprived the tribe of its distinctive value as a sign of citizenship, and from this time it gradually ceases to be used in the names. Mommsen says it appears only sporadically in the time of Constantine and cites two instances.¹

The value of this test is not very high because we do have two instances of its use in post-Constantine times. Then, too, the later limit of such inscriptions will fall in the last quarter of the third century in accordance with the course of reasoning in Test B.

F. Legatus versus Praefectus.

Gallienus forbade the senators to enter the army.²

This resulted in the disappearance of the *legatus legionis* from the army, as he was an officer of senatorial rank. Although we know that this prohibition on men of senatorial rank was removed in the post-Diocletian period, because of the frequent mention of them in the later inscriptions and literature, there is no evidence that the office of *legatus legionis* was revived. In discussing the abbreviation *bf. leg.* Cauer says³ that a *beneficiarius legati* is probably to be referred to a *beneficiarius legati legionis* because, if the individual were a *beneficiarius* of a *legatus Augusti*, the name of this officer would appear in the inscription, as being so much superior to the *legatus legionis*.

G. Praeses and Dux.

As late as the first half of the third century the term *praeses* is used as a general one applied to all rulers of provinces.⁴

¹ Staatsrecht, vol. 3, p. 215, n. 1.

² Aur. Vic. Caes. 33, 34; cf. Mommsen-Marquardt, Röm. Alt. vol. 5, p. 459; cf. also Eph. Ep. vol. 1, p. 102.

³ Op. cit. De beneficiariis, 196, B.

⁴ C. I. C. Dig. 1, 18, 1. The jurist Macer from whose works this citation comes lived in the time of Severus and Alexander. See Teuffel-Schwabe-Warr, History of Roman Literature, sec. 378, 3.

In like manner the word *dux* is used as a general term, meaning 'leader' (cf. Livy, 9, 57) and, in particular, in military language, meaning a 'commander', a 'general-in-chief' (cf. Caes. B. G. 1, 13, 2). But in the third century these two words came gradually to have a titular value, the first being applied to a civil ruler, the second to a military commander. Borghesi thinks this change was inaugurated by Alexander. Arnold puts it not earlier than Aurelian.¹ We conclude that an inscription referring to either of these terms without their true titular value is prior to the death of Aurelian.

H. Procurator and Rationalis.

The title of the chief officer of the imperial treasury during the second century was *procurator a rationibus*. This title was frequently paraphrased by *rationalis* during the third century, at first in common usage, later in the official titles.²

In the course of the third century the old name ceased to be used, and after Diocletian³ the term *rationalis* was regularly used.

I. Protectores.

The term *protector* with a distinctively titular value appears, according to Mommsen,⁴ about the middle of the third century, having been established by Philip or possibly by Decius. The combination of *protector* with some other office he thinks belongs to an earlier period, going back to Severus.⁵

¹ Cf. Mommsen-Marquardt, *Röm. Alt.* vol. 4, p. 557, n. 8.

² Hirschfeld, *op. cit.* p. 36.

³ Pauly, *Realencyklopaedie*, s. v. *Rationalis*; cf. Bethmann-Hollweg, *Civilprozess*, vol. 3, p. 71.

⁴ *Eph. Ep.* vol. 5, p. 126.

⁵ *Eph. Ep.* vol. 5, p. 127.

Seeck thinks that the establishment of the institution should be attributed to Caracalla.¹

We may conclude that an inscription referring to a *protector* does not fall prior to Severus.

J. Vir Clarissimus and Vir Eminentissimus.

In the reign of Marcus and Verus the title *clarissimus* was given to each one of the senatorial class.² During the reign of the same princes the officers of knightly rank were divided into three classes; namely, *virii eminentissimi*, *virii perfectissimi*, *virii egregii*.³

The title *eminentissimus* was made the peculiar property of the *praefectus praetorio*, he being the highest officer of knightly rank. Alexander Severus gave his praetorian prefects senatorial dignity, which carried with it the title *clarissimus*.⁴ The office was after this time, however, frequently held by those of knightly rank.⁵

In the official hierarchy established during the Diocletian-Constantine period the praetorian prefect was included in the highest class, the *illustres*, and the title *eminentissimus* does not appear in this classification.⁶

We may assume, therefore, that all inscriptions in which the title *eminentissimus* appears may be dated prior to the Diocletian-Constantine epoch.

K. Legatus Augusti.

In the early empire the *legati Augusti* are not legal magistrates in the old sense of that term but are simply

¹ Ztschr. für R. G. Savigny Stift. Germ. Abth. vol. 17 (1896), p. 103.

² Mommsen-Marquardt, Röm. Alt. vol. 3, p. 471.

³ Mommsen-Marquardt, op. cit. p. 565.

⁴ S. H. A. Vita Alexandri, c. 21, 3.

⁵ Cf. Wilmanns, 1639, dated 261 A. D. C. I. L. VIII, 4325, probably 284 A. D. See Hirschfeld, op. cit. p. 235.

⁶ Schiller, Geschichte der Röm. Kaiserzeit, vol. 2, p. 111; Gibbon, Decline and Fall, vol. 2, chap. 17; Cagnat, Cours, p. 127.

assistants of the princeps. As such they exercise both military and civil power in their provinces, with the title of *legatus Augusti pro praetore*. In the general reorganization under Diocletian and Constantine, with its separation of military and civil powers, the term *legatus*, with the above signification, seems to have disappeared. It is not found in the list of titles in the *Notitia Dignitatum*. The *legatus pro praetore Numidiae*, cited by Orelli,¹ is doubtless a *legatus proconsulis pro praetore*, referred to in the Code of Theodosius and in the *Notitia Dignitatum*.

L. The Disappearance of the Praetorians.

The praetorian guard was disbanded under Constantine, probably in the year 313 A. D.²

In C. I. L. III, 3, p. 2024 *cohortes praetorianae* I-X are given with the epithets which they received at various times: P. V., in the year 208; P. V. Antoninianae, 221; P. V. Servianae, 226; P. V. Gordianae, 243; P. V. Philippianae, 246, 248; P. V. Valerianae-Gallianae, 254; P. V. Diocletianae et Maximianae, 298. We have in this list a nearly continuous history of the epithets applied to these cohorts from 208 to the time of their disbanding, and we may assume that when a praetorian cohort appears without any distinguishing epithet it probably belongs to the period prior to 208 A. D.

M. The Legions.

The article 'Legio', by Cagnat, in the Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, is cited as 'D. and S'. Cagnat, *L'Armée Romaine D'Afrique*, is cited as 'Cagnat'. Bouche-Leclercq, Manuel

¹ *Insc. Lat. Col.* 3672; cf. *Cod. Th.* 1, 12, 3; *Not. Dig. Oc.* XVII, 3.

² Pauly, *Realencyklopädie*, s. v. *Praetorium*; cf. Zosimus, *Ἱστορία νέα* 2, 17. This passage is dated 313 in the Bonn Corpus. See also Preuss, *Diocletian und Seine Zeit*, p. 107.

des Institutions Romaines, Tableau chronologique et histoire sommaire des legions, is cited as 'Bouche-Leclercq'. When proof of the date of legionary inscriptions has been taken from other sources, usually notes in C. I. L., such proof is referred to under M, a; M, b, etc., according to the subjoined scheme.

M, a. Legio III Augusta.

We have an account of the epithets applied to this legion almost continuously from 198 A. D. down to and including the reign of Diocletian.¹

It appears in the Notitia Dignitatum without any distinguishing epithet. We may assume, then, that when the legion appears without a distinguishing epithet the inscription referring to it does not fall between the years 198 and 306.

M, b. Legio V Macedonica.

From the time of Hadrian to Marcus this legion was in Moesia Inferior, but after the time of Severus no inscriptions referring to it appear in that province.²

It seems to have been transferred to Dacia by Severus.³

M, c. Legio XIII Gemina.

This legion was transferred to Dacia by Trajan about the year 107 A. D.⁴

M'. The Cohorts.

The article Cohors in the Pauly-Wissowa Realencyklopädie is cited as 'Pauly-Wissowa'. The reference to the body of *cohortes urbanae* is cited under M', a and refers to the probable disappearance of this body, as follows:

¹ 'Cagnat', pp. 163-171.

² C. I. L. III, p. 999.

³ C. I. L. III, p. 160.

⁴ C. I. L. III, p. 482; cf. p. 160.

M¹, a. Cohortes Urbanae.

The latest reference to this body of troops is dated by Marquardt between 317 and 327¹ A. D.

They do not appear in the Codex Theodosianus nor in the Notitia Dignitatum and it is fair to assume that they disappeared during the progress of the Diocletian-Constantine reforms.

N. The Evacuation of Dacia.

This movement occurred probably in the time of Aurelian, 270-275 A. D.²

We may assume that all military inscriptions found in Dacia belong in a period subsequent to Trajan and prior to the death of Aurelian.

O. The Apices and Long I.

The apices are most common in the inscriptions of the first century of the imperial period and appear until the second half of the third century. The last instance observed by Christiansen is in an inscription of the time of Diocletian.³

From the year 130 A. D. the value of the long 'i' began to be misunderstood though many stone cutters of the middle of the third century seem to understand its meaning.⁴

By the use of these tests, about half of the inscriptions referring to the *principales* may be placed chronologically. The inscriptions are arranged by epochs. The limits of these epochs are fixed by the dates between which we note

¹ Mommsen-Marquardt, Röm. Alt. vol. 5, p. 488; cf. C. I. L. VI, 1156.

² C. I. L. III, p. 161.

³ C. I. L. V, 857; cf. Christiansen, De apicibus et i longis inscriptionum Latinarum, p. 11.

⁴ Christiansen, op. cit. p. 29.

the influence of the several emperors who most affected the administration of the army, according to the following table:

Augustus	69
Vespasian	69-117
Hadrian	117-192
Septimius Severus	192-253
Valerian-Gallienus	253-270
Aurelian	270-284
Diocletian	284-306
Constantine	306-337.

The several *principales* will be taken up in the order in which Cauer presents them. The inscriptions referring to the *vexillarii* and the *signiferi* have been considered separately, with the idea of throwing some light on the distinction between them by a study of the periods in which they appear in the epigraphic records. The inscriptions referring to the entire body of *principales*, in the order above indicated, are distributed as follows:

I, a. VEXILLARII.

(The numbers in parentheses () refer to Cauer's list.)

The inscriptions showing the influence of

Augustus.

C. I. L. II, 3272 (239), A. D. 43-63; cf. C. I. L. Note.

C. I. L. III, 3200 (235), time of Tiberius; cf. C. I. L. Note.

De Lama Ins. Ant. p. 51, N. vii. (228) probably prior to A. D. 70; cf. 'D. & S'.

Vespasian.

C. I. L. III, 2745 (72), first century; cf. 'Pauly-Wissowa'.

C. I. L. III, 4576 (101), first century; cf. 'Pauly-Wissowa'.

C. I. L. VI, 221 (19), A. D. 113; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. Rh. 680 (224), about A. D. 100; cf. *Prosopographia*, s. v. Q. Acutius.

C. I. Rh. 662 (231), about A. D. 100; cf. *Prosopographia*, s. v. Q. Acutius.

C. I. Rh. 678 (76), probably the time of Domitian; cf. 'Pauly-Wissowa'.

C. I. L. III, 3261 (70), probably in the first century; cf. 'Pauly-Wissowa'.

C. I. L. III, 4061 (102, a), probably in the first century; cf. C. I. L. Note.

C. I. Rh. 1982 (230), prior to Hadrian; cf. 'D. & S'.

Hadrian.

C. I. L. II, 2552 (232), A. D. 163; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. II, 2554 (233), A. D. 184; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. II, 2553 (68), A. D. 167; cf. C. I. L.

Bul. des sciences historique 18, p. 101 (237), prior to M. Aurelius; cf. 'D. & S'.

C. I. L. III, 2012 (74), probably prior to A. D. 200; cf. 'Pauly-Wissowa'.

C. I. L. VI, 2965 (20), possibly prior to A. D. 130; cf. Test O.

Septimius Severus.

C. I. L. VI, 220 (18), A. D. 203; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 226 (93), A. D. 202; cf. C. I. L. Note.

C. I. L. VI, 1056 (1-4), A. D. 205; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 1057 (12-15), A. D. 210; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 1058 (5-11), A. D. 205; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. X, 1767 (23), about the time of Severus; cf. 'D. & S'.

C. I. Rh. 693 (241), A. D. 239; cf. C. I. Rh.

C. I. L. VIII, 2562 (226/7), probably about the time of Severus; cf. C. I. L. Note.

Aurelian.

C. I. L. III, 1614 (236), prior to 275 A. D.; cf. Test N.

Constantine.

C. I. L. V, 4903 (229), probably prior to 337 A. D.; cf. Test E.

The distribution of these inscriptions is shown in the following table:

Augustus.			Vespasian.			Hadrian.		
a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	c.
2		1	5	3	1	3		3
Septimius Severus.			Aurelian.			Constantine.		
a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	c.	a.	b.	c.
7		1			1			1

(For meaning of the letters a. b. c. compare p. 262.)

The inscriptions seem to show that the *vexillarius* existed as early as the reign of Tiberius and we find no mention of the individual later than 239 A. D., but in order to determine whether the titular *vexillarius* existed within these limits, the inscriptions must be more carefully examined. Mommsen¹ says that the *vexillarii* are of two different types; namely, those who serve in special detachments under a *vexillum* and those who act as *rexilliferi*. It is, of course, only those of the second type that are titular officers.

Among the inscriptions above cited, *vexillarii* of the first type; i. e., those who serve under a *vexillum*, are mentioned in C. I. L. II, 2552-2554; 3272; III, 3200; 4576; C. I. Rh. 662, 680, 693; De Lama, Insc. Ant. p. 51, N. VII; Bull. des sciences historique vol. 18, p. 101. As to the remainder of the inscriptions falling in the period prior to Severus, it may be noted that C. I. Rh. 678 (76)

¹ Eph. Ep. vol. 4, p. 371.

is assigned to the reign of Domitian on the basis of a reading proposed by Zangemeister. The inscription runs as follows:

Hercli Saxa | no Gemell | us im[a]ginif | coh // // // // As[t]u-
rum p[æ]d et | vexil scoh | eiusdem | v. s. l. l. m. |

In place of the p[æ]d(itum) suggested by Brambach the reading p(ia) [f](idelis) D(omitiana) is suggested by Zangemeister.¹ If he is correct, the *Domitiana* would of course suggest the time of Domitian. But as the only possibility of dating rests on a restoration, the inscription certainly can not be used as a basis of any chronological conclusion.

C. I. L. III, 3261 (70) [*Dalmatia*] | mil coh II | Alpinor
vex | ann *II* stipen | [*dior*] XVI.

The coh II Alpinorum was probably in Pannonia in the first century according to 'Pauly-Wissowa,' but the *vex ann II* may be interpreted as *vixit ann. XXX* instead of *vex(illarius) ann. XXX*. The former reading makes the sense complete while the latter does not, and the spelling *vex.* for *vix.* is a dialectic possibility.²

C. I. L. III, 4061 (102 a) is referred by a note in C. I. L. to the first century. The inscription is described as follows:

vex. eq. scriptum in vexillo, quod eques in monumento sepulchrali insculptus dextra tenet, infra quem legitur: C. Rufius C. f. Ouf. Med. miles leg. XIII gem. an XXXVI stip. XVI.

It should be noted that the *vex. eq.* is inscribed on the standard held by the soldier, but the title *vexillarius* does not appear in the inscription. He may be temporarily carrying the *vexillum* of the cavalry without having received the title *vexillarius*. Even though we should allow to him the official title of *vexillarius*, it should,

¹ 'Pauly-Wissowa' s. v. Cohors.

² Lindsay, *The Latin Language* p. 29.

nevertheless, be noted that he is acting with the cavalry¹ and not as a standard-bearer of foot-soldiers.

C. I. L. VI, 2965 (20) mentions a *vexillarius vigilum*. It has one instance of a long 'i' used correctly in the abbreviation *mil.* There is some reason, therefore, for believing that it is prior to 130 A. D., but not enough to give conclusive proof that it belongs to so early a period.²

C. I. Rh. 1982 (230) refers to the *leg. VI vic.* as being still at Colonia Agrippinensis, whence it was removed to Britain by Hadrian. The inscription belongs to the period preceding Hadrian. It refers to an individual acting *pro vexillario* of whom Mommsen speaks as follows:³

Notabile est uni horum (230) adscribi *pro vexillario* eum fuisse, id est ni fallor non iussu ducis, sed propter casum fortuitum et rei gerendae necessitatem.

C. I. L. III, 2012 is put down as 'probably prior to 200 A. D.' on the authority of 'Pauly-Wissowa,' but even if so, it may be subsequent to the succession of Severus in 192.

C. I. L. III, 2745 (42) is referred by 'Pauly-Wissowa' to the first century. The part significant for our purpose runs as follows:

mil. coh. VIII vexil[l]ario.

A note in C. I. L., l. c., supplies with the numeral the name *Voluntariorum* because this cohort is frequently mentioned in the inscriptions of this locality. From the name itself we may surmise that the cohort is not a regularly organized body of troops, at least at the beginning of its career.

In all the cases thus far cited the word *vexillarius*, when applied to an individual among the foot soldiery, means

¹ Cf. Mommsen-Marquardt, *Röm. Alt.* vol v, p. 357, n. 2.

² Christiansen, *op. cit.* p. 29.

³ *Eph. Ep.* vol. 4, p. 371.

either one who acts under a *vexillum*, which is the standard of a detachment of troops of more or less deviation from a regularly organized tactical unit, or one who carries the standard of such an irregular body of foot soldiers or of a body of cavalry.¹ There is, however, one inscription that deserves more careful consideration; namely, C. I. L. VI, 221.

This inscription is dated in the year 113 A. D. from the name of the consul, C. Clodius Crispinus, who held the consulship in that year with L. Publius Celsus. The abbreviation of the titles of the *principales* do not now appear on the stone, which is at present in the Vatican Museum. The editor of the inscription says, *Quae nunc desiderantur, ea petivi fere ex Amadutii et Marini exemplis*. He does not say what parts he has taken from the one source and what from the other. Amadutius² published several volumes of *anecdota litteraria* between 1773 and 1783, in which this inscription is recorded. No criticism of the authenticity of his transcriptions is given except that *partim ab ipso Amadutio descripti, partim subministrati ab amicis et Borgia et Viscontio*. As to the value of the testimony of Marinius there is the following statement:³ *Quamquam concedendum est eum minus curae impendisse titulis describendis quam explicandis nec apographa eius omnibus mendis carere*.

As this is the only inscription prior to Severus in which the titular *vexillarius* is mentioned, I am inclined to think that the restoration is not altogether worthy of credence.

Of the inscriptions falling subsequent to 192 A. D. and prior to 253 A. D., five; namely, C. I. L. VI, 220, 226, 1056, 1057, 1058 belong between the years 203 and 210 A. D., two; namely, X, 1767 and VIII, 2562 are of the time of

¹ Mommsen-Marquardt, Röm. Alt. vol. 5, p. 357, n. 2: "Umgekehrt haben die equites gewöhnlich *vexilla*."

² Cf. C. I. L. VI. Index Auctorum CXII.

³ C. I. L. VI, Index Auctorum CXIV.

Severus, and one, C. I. Rh. 693, falls in the year 239 A. D. Mommsen thinks the term *vezillarii* in this last mentioned inscription is used in a broad and general sense.¹

Of the two remaining inscriptions: C. I. L. III, 1614; V, 4903, only the posterior date can be determined with reasonable probability. The first falls prior to 275 A. D. the latter prior to 337 A. D. There is no reason for believing that they, too, do not belong in the reign of Severus, though no positive affirmation may be made in regard to them.

The *vezillarius* among the troops in the city referred to by Tacitus, prior to the time of Severus, can not properly be considered a titular *vezillarius*.²

If my surmise in regard to the restoration of C. I. L. VI, 221 is correct, it is plain that all references to *vezillarii* as titular officers of unmounted troops, i. e., as standard bearers of these troops, are found in the reign of Severus, and from this we may draw some conclusions as to the distinction between the titular *vezillarius* and the *signifer*. In the reorganization of the whole administration on a military basis, made by Septimius Severus, the *vigiles* are

¹ Eph. Ep., vol. 4, p. 370 . . . *ut hic comprehendantur tam aquiliferi et signiferi quam qui proprie vezillarii dicuntur et vocabulum usurpetur non solita et propria ratione, sed latiora et promiscua.*

² Tac. Hist. 1, 41: *Viso comminus armatorum agmine vezillarius comitatae Galbani cohortis (Atilium Vergilionem fuisse tradunt) deraptam Galbae imaginem solo adfixit; cf. Plut. Galla 26: Ατιλλίου δὲ Βυργελίωνος εἰκόνα Γάλβας προσουδίσαντος.* The *vezillarius* here mentioned is really an *imaginifer*, the standard bearer of a detachment of troops detailed as a body guard of the emperor. The irregular status of this cohort is indicated by Otho's sneering reference to it as *cohors togata*, in his speech to the praetorians (See Hist. 1, 38; cf. the note to this passage in the edition by Heraeus. The reference in Hist. 3, 17 is to a *vezillarius* of the equites (cf. Mommsen-Marquardt, Röm. Alt. vol. 5, p. 357, n. 2). The other references in the Histories of Tacitus; namely, II, 8, 66, 83, 100; III, 6, 48, are to *vezillarii* acting under *vezilla* not to *vezilliferi* (cf. Heraeus, Tac. Hist., note to III, 17, 5).

given a more distinctively military character and their standard bearers become regular titular officers. They carry, however, a *vexillum* rather than the *signum* of the military cohorts, and to distinguish them from the *signiferi* of the military cohorts they are called *vexillarii*. Five out of the eight inscriptions falling in the reign of Severus; namely, C. I. L. VI, 220, 1056, 1057, 1058 and X, 1767 refer to *vexillarii* of the *vigiles*. The first four are *vexillarii* of centuries, the last a *vex. coh.* C. I. L. VI, 226 is a *vexillarius equit. sing.* There is no evidence in this inscription of any peculiarity in the office and it, therefore, gives us no light on the question as to the distinction between the *vexillarii* and *signiferi* of the *equites singulares*.¹

The specific meaning of the *vexillarius* in the third Augustan legion (VIII, 2562) does not appear in the inscription, while the term in C. I. Rh. 693 is used, according to Mommsen² in a broad sense including standard bearers of various classes.

This usage of *vexillarius* with a distinct titular value may have been extended by Severus to other divisions of the army, though in the instance above cited of the *vexillarius* of the third Augustan legion we can not tell whether he belongs to a regularly organized tactical unit or is one of the irregular type before described.

If we may judge from the testimony of the inscriptions, this practice of making a sharp distinction between the *vexillarii* and the *signiferi* did not continue long after the time of Severus.³ The title *signifer* again came to be the

¹ Cf. Mommsen-Marquardt, Röm. Alt. vol. 5, p. 545, n. 4.

² Cf. ante p. 278, n. 1.

³ The *vexillarius* mentioned by Flavius Vopiscus (Script. Hist. Aug. 28, 5, 8) is found in one of the alleged letters of Vopiscus, purporting in this instance to have been sent by the Emperor Valerian to Probus. It shows no evidence of being the titular *principalis* that we are here discussing. "*Vestes tibi triplices dari iussi, sularium duplex feci, vexillarium deputavi*".

prevailing one and continued in use down to the latest period, as we shall see in our examination of the inscriptions referring to this officer.

I, a. SIGNIFERI.

The inscriptions showing the influence of

Augustus.

C. I. L. V, 2503 (180), time of Augustus; cf. C. I. L. Note.

C. I. L. V, 5832 (220), A. D. 29; cf. Cauer.

Mur. 852, 2 (159), prior to Vespasian; cf. 'D. & S'.

Vespasian.

C. I. L. IX, 4685 (174), time of Vespasian; cf. C. I. L. Note.

C. I. L. III, 6023 (199), prior to Trajan; cf. 'D. & S'.

Hadrian.

C. I. L. III, 1396 (103), A. D. 186; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. III, 6179, ord. 3, l. 18 (169), time of Hadrian;
cf. C. I. L. Note.

C. I. L. VI, 2379 (29-35), A. D. 143-144; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VIII, 2527 (146), A. D. 198; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. IX, 1617 (66), A. D. 134; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. IX, 5808 (45), A. D. 137; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. Rh. 101 (205), A. D. 185; cf. C. I. Rh.

C. I. Rh. 1301 (201), A. D. 185; cf. C. I. Rh.

Eph. Ep. vol. 4, 887 (52), A. D. 141, 142; cf. Eph. Ep.

C. I. L. V, 7495 (172), prior to A. D. 120; cf. 'Bouche-Leclercq'.

C. I. Rh. 1983 (198), prior to M. Aurelius; cf. 'D. & S'.

Septimius Severus.

- C. I. L. III, 854 (168), A. D. 204; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 4268 (212), A. D. 200; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 225 (86), A. D. 200; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 323 (51), A. D. 221/2; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 742 (28), time of Severus; cf. Cauer.
 C. I. L. VI, 2384 (57), A. D. 198; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 2385 (36-40), A. D. 209; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 3884 (65, 58, 59), A. D. 198; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VIII, 217 (165), A. D. 199; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VIII, 2528 (130), A. D. 198; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VIII, 2618 (147, 148), A. D. 211/12; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. IX, 1609 (53), A. D. 215; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. Rh. 145 (208), A. D. 239; cf. C. I. Rh.
 C. I. Rh. 202 (207), A. D. 230; cf. C. I. Rh.
 C. I. Rh. 220 (209), A. D. 210; cf. C. I. Rh.
 C. I. Rh. 1302 (202), A. D. 198; cf. C. I. Rh.
 C. I. Rh. 1067 (200), time of Alexander; cf. the epithet
Alexandriana.
 Eph. Ep. vol. 2, 327 (124), between Alexander & Gallienus;
 cf. Eph. Ep. Note.
 Eph. Ep. vol. 2, 693 (211), A. D. 223; cf. Eph. Ep.
 Eph. Ep. vol. 4, 440 (78), time of Alexander; cf. Eph.
 Ep. Note.
 Eph. Ep. vol. 4, 525 (194), time of Caracalla; cf. the
 epithet *Antoniniana*.
 C. I. L. III, 5818 (158), probably middle of third century.
 Test O.
 C. I. L. V, 808 (166), probably time of Severus and Caracalla;
 cf. the epithet *Antoniniana*.
 C. I. L. VIII, 2975 (140), probably time of Severus; cf.
 C. I. L. Note.

Valerian-Gallienus.

- C. I. L. III, 3538 (119), prior to Gallienus. Test F.

Aurelian.

C. I. L. III, 813, 1124, 1192, 1202, 6274 (223, 185, 187, 188, 98), prior to 275 A. D. Test N;—(129), prior to Diocletian; cf. 'Cagnat'.

C. I. L. VIII, 3000 (143), prior to Diocletian; cf. 'Cagnat'.

Diocletian.

C. I. L. V, 5823 (104), probably time of Diocletian; cf. Forcellini, Lexicon, under the word *exarchus*.

Constantine.

C. I. L. V, 4371 (44); VI, 2482 (46); 2597 (48); 2651 (49); X, 1762 (50); prior to 337 A. D. Test L.

C. I. L. II, 2610 (42); III, 508 (176); 1478 (196); 2708 (179); 2716 (171); 2915 (197); 2838 (215); 4114 (178); V, 2502 (183); 3375 (181); 3360 (190); 5595 (160); 8185 (161); VI, 2578 (47); 2794 (54); 2938 (64); VII, 125 (117); 155 (192); 243 (173); VIII, 2886 (154); 2994 (142); 4874 (60); IX, 1603 (204); X, 3887 (177); in schedis (56). Eph. Ep. vol. 4, 533 (195); Mur. 829 (80); 845 (116); probably prior to 337. Test E.

The only sepulchral inscription referring to the military *principalis* after Constantine is C. I. L. V, 8752, probably of the time of Arcadius and Honorius.¹

This runs as follows:

Flavio Launio semaforo | de numero Bataorum seni |
orum qui vissit annos X/// |

and seems to refer to the *signifer* of the old military type with a Greek spelling of his title. We have also an instance of the same official occurring in an inscription during the reign of Diocletian; cf. C. I. L. V, 5823 (104) cited above. I shall return later to a consideration of these two inscriptions.

¹ C. I. L. V, p. 1058. *sunt autem similes omnes, ut reliquos quoque probabiliter adscribere liceat aeco Arcadii et Honorii.*

II. AQUILIFERI.

The inscriptions showing the influence of

Augustus.

C. I. L. V, 5832 (16), A. D. 29; cf. C. I. L.

Or. 3389 (1), A. D. 50; cf. Orelli, l. c.

C. I. L. IX, 5527 (15), prior to A. D. 69; cf. 'D. & S.'

C. I. L. V, 3375 (20), probably the time of Claudius;
cf. 'D. & S.'

Vespasian.

C. I. Rh. 1183 (21), prior to A. D. 107; cf. 'D. and S.'

C. I. Rh. 1187 (22), prior to A. D. 107; cf. 'D. and S.'

Hadrian.

C. I. Rh. 1752 (3), A. D. 191; cf. C. I. Rh.

C. I. L. III, 6180 (17), prior to 192; cf. 'D. and S.'

C. I. Rh. 196 (23), prior to M. Aurelius; cf. 'D. and S.'

C. I. L. VIII, 2794 (6), prior to 198; cf. Test M, a.
See also Test A.

Septimius Severus.

C. I. L. VIII, 2904 (7), time of Severus; cf. the epithet
Severia.

Diocletian.

C. I. L. V, 2495 (19), prior to Diocletian's abdication.
Test O.

Constantine.

C. I. L. II, 266 (4); VI, 3627 (18), prior to 337. Test E.

III. IMAGINIFERI.

The inscriptions showing the influence of

Vespasian.

C. I. L. V, 7366 (14), prior to 107 A. D.; cf. 'D. and S.'

Hadrian.

- C. I. L. II, 2553 (12), A. D. 167; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 6178 (9), circa A. D. 134; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 3386 (15), possibly time of Hadrian. Test A.
 C. I. L. III, 6180 (10), prior to A. D. 192; cf. 'D. and S.'

Septimius Severus.

- C. I. L. VI, 218 (28), A. D. 202; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 1056 (29, 30), A. D. 205; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 1057 (31-33), A. D. 205; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 1058 (34), A. D. 210; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. Rh. 693 (27), A. D. 239; cf. C. I. Rh.

Aurelian.

- C. I. L. III, 1583 (20), prior to A. D. 275; Test N.

Constantine.

- C. I. L. V, 937 (13), prior to A. D. 337; Test E.

IV. QUI SIGNA CANUNT.

The inscriptions showing the influence of

Augustus.

- C. I. Rh. 378 (69), prior to Claudius; cf. 'D. and S.'

Vespasian.

- C. I. L. VI, 221 (10), A. D. 113; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 2404 (91), A. D. 115; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 6366 (73), first century; cf. 'Pauly-
 Wissowa.'
 C. I. L. V, 7884 (74), earlier imperial period; cf.
 'Pauly-Wissowa.'

C. I. L. IX, 456* (2*), probably first century; cf. the epithet *p. f.*, given by Claudius.

C. I. Rh. 1289 (72), prior to 107; cf. 'Pauly-Wissowa.'

Hadrian.

C. I. L. VI, 2375 (13, 77-79), A. D. 119; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 2379 (14, 36-39, 80-84), A. D. 143; cf.

C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 2382 (15, 40, 85-87), A. D. 172-5; cf.

C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 2405 (43, 90), A. D. 125; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 2412 (11), A. D. 184; cf. C. I. L.

Eph. Ep. vol. 4, 887 (42), A. D. 141; cf. Eph. Ep.

C. I. L. VI, 3176 (92); 3179 (17), probably the time of Hadrian. Test A.

C. I. L. III, 6178 (34, 35); 6180 (23), prior to A. D. 192; cf. 'D. and S.'

Septimius Severus.

C. I. L. III, 3526 (45), A. D. 216; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 1057 (3-6), A. D. 205-210; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 1058 (7-9), A. D. 210; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 2385 (16, 41, 88-9), A. D. 208; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 2752 (27), between 208 and 221 A. D.

Test L.

C. I. L. VIII, 2557 (29), A. D. 203; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VIII, 2564 (31, 32), A. D. 218; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. Rh. 1284 (50), A. D. 210; cf. C. I. Rh.

Eph. Ep. vol. 4, 503 (71), A. D. 229; cf. Eph. Ep.

C. I. Rh. 1738 (1), prior to the end of the second century; cf. C. I. Rh.

Eph. Ep. vol. 2, 511 (20), prior to A. D. 245; cf. 'Pauly-Wissowa.'

Aurelian.

C. I. L. III, 847 (51); 906 (70); 3352 (18); Eph. Ep. vol. 4, 138 (94), prior to 275 A. D. Test N.

Constantine.

C. I. L. III, 782 (68); VI, 2545 (12); 2627 (26); 2570 (75); 2711 (76); 2724 (49), prior to 337 A. D. Test L.

C. I. L. VIII, 2898 (46); 2950 (47); IX, 5065 (93), probably prior to 337. Test E.

There is one inscription referring to a *bucinator* which belongs to a period long after the reign of Constantine. It is not a sepulchral inscription but one which gives parts of an edict of the emperor Anastasius (481-518). The significant part of it runs as follows:

C. I. Gr. 5187 (25), c. τῶ|δεκά[ν]φ [κ]αί σ[ε]λ[ε]ντ[ι]α[ρ]ί[φ]|
κα[ι] σ[πα]θ[α]ρί[φ] κ[α]ί βουκινάτορι κα[ι]|τ.λ.

The mention of the *bucinator* along with the *decanus*, *silentiarius* and *spatharius* seems to indicate that his function is similar to that of the trumpeter of the pre-Constantine period. It should be noted that the reference here to a *bucinator* is found in a legal document. It is not an inscription set up by the family of the *bucinator*.

V. BENEFICIARIUS.

The inscriptions showing the influence of

Augustus.

C. I. L. V, 35 (132), A. D. 50; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. V, 5451 (63), probably about A. D. 69; cf. 'D. and S'.

Vespasian.

C. I. L. VI, 221 (289), A. D. 113; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 222 (365), A. D. 111; cf. C. I. L.

Wilm. 1584 (164), A. D. 73; cf. Wilm.
Orelli 3206 (423), A. D. 48-51; cf. Caer.

Hadrian.

- C. I. L. II, 2552 (221), A. D. 163; cf. C. I. L.
C. I. L. II, 2553 (222), A. D. 167; cf. C. I. L.
C. I. L. III, 1295 (217), A. D. 161; cf. C. I. L.
C. I. L. III, 5162 (216), A. D. 158; cf. C. I. L.
C. I. L. III, 5169 (219), A. D. 158; cf. C. I. L.
C. I. L. III, 5181 (234), time of Pius; cf. *Prosopographia*.
C. I. L. III, 6178 (201), time of Hadrian; cf. C. I. L.
C. I. L. VII, 271 (142), A. D. 191; cf. C. I. L.
C. I. L. IX, 1617 (265), A. D. 134; cf. C. I. L.
C. I. L. IX, 5839 (254), A. D. 137; cf. C. I. L.
C. I. Rh. 512 (77), A. D. 182; cf. C. I. Rh.
C. I. Rh. 647 (100), A. D. 190; cf. C. I. Rh.
C. I. Rh. 1617 (74), A. D. 186; cf. C. I. Rh.
C. I. Rh. 1618 (51) A. D. 179; cf. C. I. Rh.
C. I. Rh. 1791 (110), A. D. 189; cf. C. I. Rh.
Eph. Ep., vol. 4, 887 (261-263), A. D. 137/8; cf. Eph. Ep.
C. I. L. III, 5953 (290), between the time of M. Aurelius
and Septimius Severus; cf. 'D. and S', also Test C.
C. I. L. III, 6179 (199), probably time of Hadrian; cf.
C. I. L. Note.
C. I. L. VI, 2644 (250), between the time of Vespasian
and of Severus.
C. I. L. III, p. 501. Probably the time of Antoninus
Pius. The emperor referred to is either Pius or Caracalla,
probably Pius, as he had an unimportant war with the
Dacians. See *Script. Hist. Aug.* 3, 5.

Septimius Severus.

- C. I. L. III, 196 (302), A. D. 243; cf. C. I. L.
C. I. L. III, 616 (64), A. D. 218; cf. C. I. L.
C. I. L. III, 827 (66), A. D. 239; cf. C. I. L.

- C. I. L. III, 876 (168), A. D. 200; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 1909 (5), A. D. 194; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 1911 (68), A. D. 239; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 1780 (72), A. D. 209; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 1781 (3), A. D. 225; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 3161 (6), A. D. 245; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 3270 (20), A. D. 226; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 3412 (172), A. D. 228; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 3474 (91), A. D. 240; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 3624 (173), time of Severus; cf. the epithet
Severiana.
 C. I. L. III, 3899 (61), A. D. 224; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 3903 (55), A. D. 225; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 3907 (62), A. D. 217; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 3912 (401), A. D. 232; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 4147 (143), A. D. 222; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 4408 (26), A. D. 238; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 4558 (311), A. D. 249; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 5178 (22), A. D. 192; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 5185 (19), A. D. 215; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 5187 (206), A. D. 211; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 5189 (18), A. D. 217; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 5575 (24), A. D. 226; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 5580 (23), A. D. 219; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 5690 (21), A. D. 230; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 5768 (33), A. D. 238-44; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 6291 (40), A. D. 213; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 220 (284), A. D. 200; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 225 (375/6), A. D. 200; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 323 (252), A. D. 211/2; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 716 (406), A. D. 205-208; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 1056 (271), A. D. 205; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 1057 (272-76), A. D. 210; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 1058 (277-81), A. D. 210; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 1059 (266-270), A. D. 210; cf. C. I. L.

- C. I. L. VI, 2385 (327-331), A. D. 207; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 3314 (377), A. D. 198; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 3884 (344), A. D. 197/8; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 3924 (418), A. D. 231; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VII, 732 (169), A. D. 225; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VIII, 2551 (304), A. D. 198; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VIII, 2564 (306), time of Elagabalus; cf. C.
 I. L.
 C. I. L. VIII, 2586 (307), time of Elagabalus; cf. C.
 I. L.
 C. I. L. VIII, 2733 (167), time of Severus; cf. C. I.
 L. and Prosopographia.
 C. I. L. VIII, 2751 (30) time of Caracalla; cf. Proso-
 pographia.
 C. I. L. VIII, 2911 (118), time of Severus or Elagaba-
 lus; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. Rh. 231 (98), A. D. 230; cf. Klein, *Fasti Consu-*
lares.
 C. I. Rh. 430 (94), A. D. 223; cf. C. I. Rh.
 C. I. Rh. 431 (107), A. D. 236; cf. C. I. Rh.
 C. I. Rh. 500 (191), A. D. 252; cf. C. I. Rh.
 C. I. Rh. 999 (193), A. D. 210; cf. C. I. Rh.
 C. I. Rh. 1060 (194), A. D. 227; cf. C. I. Rh.
 C. I. Rh. 1492 (50), A. D. 213; cf. C. I. Rh.
 C. I. Rh. 1574 (73), A. D. 223; cf. C. I. Rh.
 C. I. Rh. 1575 (52), time of Caracalla; cf. the epithet
Antoniniana.
 C. I. Rh. 1576 (75), time of Caracalla; cf. the epithet
Antoniniana.
 Eph. Ep. vol. 2, 492 (41), A. D. 200; cf. Eph. Ep.
 Eph. Ep. vol. 2, 597 (15), A. D. 213; cf. Eph. Ep.
 Eph. Ep. vol. 2, 818 (58), A. D. 250; cf. Eph. Ep.
 Eph. Ep. vol. 2, 842 (121), A. D. 227; cf. Eph. Ep.

C. I. L. III, 3905 et 3909 (71), between the time of M. Aurelius and Alexander Severus. Cf. C. I. L. Note. 3905 refers to a *leg. leg.*, and is therefore prior to Gallienus (Test F), but as it refers to a M. Aurelius, it belongs in the time either of the Philosopher or of Caracalla or of Elagabalus or of Alexander (Test A). It is subsequent to Trajan; cf. 'D. & S.'

C. I. L. III, 6180 (200), probably time of Severus; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VII, 645 (125), about A. D. 252; cf. C. I. L.

Orelli 3444 (247), subsequent to Trajan; cf. epithet *Trajana*. Not later than Elagabalus; cf. 'M. Antonini' in the inscription.

C. I. L. III, 1808 (383), prior to 245 A. D.; cf. 'Pauly-Wissowa.'

Valerian-Gallienus.

C. I. L. VIII, 2797 (163), time of Gallienus; cf. epithet *Gallienae* in the inscription.

C. I. L. III, 3906 (59), A. D. 257; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. III, 4318 (174); 4321 (170); 4328 (171); VI, 3335 (190); VIII, 2080 (192); 2226 (182); 2569 (188 and 179); 2823 (175); 2828 (176); 2854 (177); 2963 (184); 2990 (186); 4246 (187); C. I. Rh. 462 (197); 1095 (198); Boissieu p. 276 (196); Eph. Ep. vol. 2, 452 (183), prior to Gallienus; cf. Test F.

Aurelian.

C. I. L. III, 823 (67); 825 (97); 826 (37); 878 (35); 893 (411); 987 (36); 1026 (180); 1031 (178); 1039 (117); 1050 (185); 1056 (294); 1059 (157); 1080 (88); 1190 (99); 1485 (65); 1584 (310); 4311 (11); V, 8275 (384); Eph. Ep. vol. 4, 138 (326); 139 (155); 171 (229), prior to A. D. 275; cf. Test N.

C. I. L. VIII, 9380 (385); C. I. Gr. 6815 (421 | 2); C. I. Rh. 982 (161), prior to death of Aurelian; cf. Test G.

Diocletian.

C. I. L. III, 3441 (224); 3442 (238); 3448 (231); 3449 (232); 3663 (230); 3942 (226); 3947 (220); 4559 (218); 5177 (237); 5179 (236); 5689 (239); 6218 (227); Bois. p. 527 (228); Orelli 3512 (243), prior to end of the third century; cf. Test H.

C. I. L. V, 6785 (166); VII, 280 (154), prior to 297 A. D., the date of the publication of *Laterculus Veronensis*; cf. *Momm. Abh. der Ber. Acad.* 1862, p. 489 sqq.

C. I. L. X, 214 (244), prior to Diocletian-Constantine reforms; cf. Test. J.

Constantine.

C. I. L. III, 385 (341); 645 (249); 2887 (339); VI, 2527 (335); 2633 (334); 2673 (245); 2680 (260); 2734 (333); X, 410 (343); 3880 (345); *Grut.* 569,13 (342), probably prior to A. D. 313; cf. Test L.

C. I. L. II, 2610 (338); III, 1910 (9); 4057 (16); 4191 (8); V, 3371 (253); 7004 (195); 7554 (323); 8274 (336); VI, 2427 (402); VII, 156 (189); VIII, 4436 (181); IX, in *schedis* (337); 2593 (313); 2999 (332); *Eph. Ep.* vol. 2, 683 (223); *Mur.* 830, 3 (251); Orelli 4109 (242), probably prior to death of Constantine; cf. Test E.

C. I. L. III, 252 (165), prior to 337 A. D. Test K.

C. I. L. VI, 2895 (264); 2909 (346), prior to death of Constantine. Test M¹, a.

C. I. L. VI, 3238 (372), within the third century; cf. *Eph. Ep.* vol. 5, p. 122, 18.

VI. SINGULARES.

The inscriptions showing the influence of

Hadrian.

C. I. L. III, 3494 (35), A. D. 189; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 2382 (23), A. D. 172, cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VII, 271 (17), A. D. 191; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. IX, 1617 (31), A. D. 134; cf. C. I. L.
C. I. Rh. 314 (8), A. D. 187; cf. C. I. Rh.

Severus.

C. I. L. III, 4812 (11, 13), A. D. 228; cf. C. I. L.
C. I. L. VI, 1056 (26), A. D. 206; cf. C. I. L.
C. I. L. III, 5938 (7), between the time of Pius and
Elagabalus, because of the epithet *Antoniniana*.

Aurelian.

C. I. L. III, 1160 (9); 1195 (4); 890 (20), prior to A. D.
275. Test N.

Diocletian.

C. I. Rh. 1559 (21), apparently from the third century;
cf. 'Pauly-Wissowa.'

Constantine.

C. I. L. III, 93 (22), prior to A. D. 337. Test K.
C. I. L. V, 901 (28); VI, 2634 (25); X, 410 (29);
Henz. 6771 (24), prior to A. D. 313. Test L.
C. I. L. VI, 2914 (30), prior to A. D. 327. Test M, a.
C. I. L. VI, 3614 (33), probably prior to death of
Constantine. Test E.

It should be noted that there is no *singularis* among
the *vigiles* prior to A. D. 205. See C. I. L. VI, 1056.
Mommsen says:

"Hoc probabilitate non caret secutores a singularibus re
non diversos fuisse, sed honore inferiores; ita enim recte
explicatur, quod praesidium et praefectorum praetorio secu-
tores non magis reperiuntur quam singulares tribunorum
vigilum."¹ The fact that a *singularis praefecti vigilum*
occurs in the reign of Severus for the first time may be
explained by the hypothesis that prior to Severus this

¹ Eph. Ep. vol. 4, p. 404.

officer was not allowed the dignity of such an attendant *principalis*.

The inscriptions referring to the *singulares* are unique in the fact that more are found under Hadrian than under Severus.

VII. SECUTORES TRIBUNI.

The inscriptions showing the influence of

Vespasian (Trajan?)

C. I. L. VI, 221 (39, 40), A. D. 113; cf. C. I. L.

Hadrian.

C. I. L. IX, 1617 (4), A. D. 134; cf. C. I. L.

Septimius Severus.

C. I. L. III, 3472 (44), time of Caracalla; cf. the epithet *Antoniniana*.

C. I. L. VI, 1056 (5-11), A. D. 205; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 1057 (12-24), A. D. 205; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 1058 (25-38), A. D. 210; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 2385 (1), A. D. 209; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VIII, 2564 (43), time of Elagabalus; cf. C. I. L.

Aurelian.

C. I. L. III, 1190 (42), prior to 275 A. D. Test N.

Constantine.

C. I. L. VI, 2659 (2), probably prior to 337. Test E.

C. I. L. VI, 2931 (3), prior to 327 A. D. Test M¹, a.

VIII. STRATORES.

The inscriptions showing the influence of

Hadrian.

C. I. L. VIII, 2749 (4), time of Commodus; cf. Prosopographia.

C. I. L. VIII, 7050 (19), time of M. Aurelius; cf. Cauer.

Wilmanns 1251 (29), between Hadrian and M. Aurelius; cf. Prosopographia.

Septimius Severus.

C. I. L. III, 1676 (6), A. D. 225; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. III, 5449 (2), time of Severus; cf. the epithet *Severiana*.

C. I. L. VI, 3408 (27), time of Severus; cf. 'D. and S.'

C. I. L. VIII, 2748 (21), A. D. 211-12; cf. C. I. L.

Eph. Ep. vol. 2, 682 (24), time of Severus; cf. 'D. and S.'

Eph. Ep. vol. 4, 527 (26), time of Severus; cf. the epithet *Severiana*.

Wilmanns 1283 (28), time of Severus; cf. Prosopographia.

C. I. L. VIII, 2567 (32); 2568 (33-35); 2569 (36); 2597 (38), probably prior to Gallienus. Test F.

Aurelian.

C. I. L. VIII, 9002 (30), prior to 275 A. D. Test G.

Eph. Ep. vol. 4, 164 (12), prior to 275 A. D. Test N.

Diocletian.

C. I. Rh. 453 (1), prior to the publication of the *Laterculus Veronensis* in 297; cf. Mommsen, *Abhand. der Ber. Acad.* 1862, p. 489 sqq.

Constantine.

C. I. L. III, 1674 (7); 4365 (11); Eph. Ep. vol. 2, 686 (13), prior to 337. Test A.

C. I. L. VIII, 2565 (31), prior to death of Constantine. Test E.

IX. IMMUNES.

The inscriptions showing the influence of

Augustus.

C. I. L. V, 4910 (9), probably in the early part of the reign of Augustus; cf. note in C. I. L.

Hadrian.

C. I. L. III, 91 (7), A. D. 161; cf. Prosopographia.

C. I. L. III, 6178 (40), A. D. 134; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. Rh. 1325 (3), A. D. 183; cf. C. I. Rh.

Septimius Severus.

C. I. L. III, 1038 (24), A. D. 211/12; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 228 (38), A. D. 205; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 2385 (42), A. D. 209; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 3401 (13), time of Severus and Caracalla;
cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VIII, 2564 (30-34), time of Elagabalus; cf.
C. I. L.

C. I. L. VIII, 2618 (27-29), A. D. 211/12; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. Rh. 1444 (2), A. D. 230; cf. C. I. Rh.

Insc. Helv. 219 (5), A. D. 219; cf. Insc. Helv.

Orelli 2105 (1), A. D. 226; cf. Cauer.

C. I. L. VIII, 2899 (21), probably time of Severus; cf.
'D. and S.'

Aurelian.

C. I. L. III, 885 (10); 1593 (26); Eph. Ep. vol. 4,
137 (12), 138 (10), prior to 275 A. D. Test N.

Constantine.

C. I. L. III, 2565 (16), probably prior to 337 A. D.
Test E.

The distribution of *immunes* is very like that of the similar class of *beneficarii*. They each appear very early,

in the time of Augustus, and disappear at the time of Septimius Severus.

X. CORNICULARIUS.

The inscriptions showing the influence of

Vespasian.

Inscr. Helv. 78 (8), A. D. 83 cf. Cauer.

C. I. L. III, 6023 (43), prior to end of first century.
Test C.

Hadrian.

C. I. L. III, 767 (10), latter half of second century;
cf. Prosopographia.

C. I. L. III, 1099 (42), between the time of Domitian
and of Severus, (Test C); after Trajan, (D. and S.);
between 161 and 169 or 176 and 181 when there were two
Augusti.

C. I. L. VI, 414 (37), A. D. 191; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VIII, 2739 (81), A. D. circa 161; cf. Prosopo-
graphia.

C. I. L. IX, 1617 (61), A. D. 134; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. IX, 5358 (26), between 161 and 181 A. D.; cf.
Hirschfeld, op.cit., p. 226.

C. I. Gr. 4453 (89), A. D. 174; cf. Cauer.

Orelli 3456 (36), circa A. D. 141; cf. Cauer.

C. I. L. III, 2887 (57), between the time of Vespasian
and Antoninus Pius; cf. note in C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 1340 (32), probably A. D. 126; cf. C. I. L.

Septimius Severus.

C. I. L. II, 2664 (28), A. D. 234; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. II, 4122 (6), time of Severus; cf. Prosopo-
graphia.

C. I. L. III, 3472 (100), time of Caracalla; cf. the epithet *Antoniniana*.

C. I. L. III, 3496 (69), time of Alexander; cf. the epithet *Severiana*.

C. I. L. III, 3510 (86), A. D. 229; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. III, 4363 (13), time of Alexander; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. III, 4452 (67), A. D. 212; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. III, 4558 (49), A. D. 249; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 220 (95), A. D. 199; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 1057 (38), A. D. 205; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 1058 (39), A. D. 210; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 1059 (65), A. D. 210; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 1645 (31), A. D. 245-248. The inscription refers to the two Philips.

C. I. L. VI, 3401 (15), time of Severus and Caracalla; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 3884 (62), A. D. 197; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VIII, 2557 (47), A. D. 198; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VIII, 2586 (78), time of Elagabalus or Alexander; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VIII, 2750 (9), time of Elagabalus or Alexander; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. Rh. 1304 (84), time of Caracalla; cf. the epithet *Antoniniana*.

Eph. Ep. vol. 2, 1058 (70), between the time of Commodus and of Alexander; cf. Eph. Ep.

Eph. Ep. vol. 4, 526 (72), time of Severus; cf. the epithet *Severiana*.

C. I. L. XIV, 160 (20), prior to A. D. 211. Test D.

Valerian-Gallienus.

C. I. L. III, 3611 (68); 3972 (71); 4405 (16); VIII, 702 (75); C. I. Rh. 149 (14), prior to Gallienus. Test F.

Aurelian.

C. I. Rh. 1559, 1560 (85), time of Aurelian; cf. Pauly-Wissowa's reference to the epithet *Aure(lianensium)*.

C. I. L. III, 887 (17); 894 (92); 1106 (1); 1471 (90), prior to 275 A. D. Test N.

Diocletian.

C. I. L. VIII, 4325 (27), A. D. 284; cf. Cagnat, Cours d'Epigraphie Latine, p. 205.

C. I. L. II, 3323 (22), prior to the close of the third century. Test H.

C. I. L. III, 2052 (4), prior to the close of the third century; cf. 'Pauly-Wissowa.'

C. I. L. X, 1679 (18); Henzen 6644 (19), prior to 297 A. D., the date of the publication of *Laterculus Veronensis*; cf. Mommsen, op. cit.

Constantine.

C. I. L. III, 385 (58); VI, 2659 (93); 3661 (59); X, 1763 (30); XI, 20 (41); Henzen 6771 (53); Orelli 3488 (23), probably prior to 313 A. D. Test L.

C. I. L. II, 2610 (56); III, 3565 (44); 3846 (29); 4412 (5); VI, 2440 (55), probably prior to 337 A. D. Test E.

C. I. L. III, 118 (7); 252 (11), probably prior to 337 A. D. Test K.

C. I. L. VI, 2869 (60); probably prior to 327 A. D. Test M¹, a.

In the urban soldiery the praefects, sub-praefects and tribunes of the *vigiles* have each a single *cornicularius*; cf. Eph. Ep. 4, p. 418. But no *cornicularius* is mentioned in C. I. L. VI, 221.

XI. CODICILLARIUS.

The only inscriptions referring to the *codicillarius* are those giving the list of *vigiles*, in VI, 1056-1058, dated 205-210 A. D.

XII. *QUAESTIONARIUS*.

The inscriptions showing the influence of

Hadrian.

C. I. L. IX, 1617 (5), A. D. 134; cf. C. I. L.

Septimius Severus.

C. I. L. VI, 1057 (7, 8), A. D. 205; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 1058 (9, 10), A. D. 210; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VIII, 2586 (1), time of Elagabalus; cf. C. I. L.

L. C. I. L. VIII, 2751 (2), time of Caracalla; cf. *Prosopographia*.

Constantine.

C. I. L. VI, 2755 (4); Orelli 3503 (13), probably prior to 337 A. D. Test E.

C. I. L. VI, 2880 (6), probably prior to death of Constantine. Test M¹, a and O.

The first reference to the *quaestionarius* is in C. I. L. IX, 1617, dated 134 A. D. The other four that can be definitely dated are between the years 205 A. D. and 222 A. D. Two of them are among Kellermann's *vigiles*. The *quaestionarius* mentioned in IX, 1617, served in the urban soldiery. Marquardt's argument that the *quaestionarii* could not have inflicted torture because this could not be legally applied to Roman citizens¹ is answered by Mommsen² so far as these *principales* in the legions are concerned, but not as regards their function among the urban soldiery. The presence of this officer in the city cohorts at this time

¹ Mommsen-Marquardt, *Röm. Alt.* vol. 5, p. 552, n. 1.

² *Eph. Ep.* vol. 4, p. 421: *At quaestionarii ex legionibus cum non reperiantur nisi apud legatos eos, qui provinciae praesent, ad sola iudicia de militibus faciendum non recte referuntur, ut mittam vel inter milites multos fuisse non cives Romanos.*

must be referred to the general tendency, beginning to show already in the time of Hadrian, to give to military officers certain civil functions. It was not likely that this officer exercised the criminal functions of a *quaestionarius* over the urban soldiery, for as late as 197/8¹ these soldiers are, in the main, residents of Italian towns and therefore possessed of Roman citizen rights. His functions as *quaestionarius* must have been exercised in the non-military cases coming under the jurisdiction of the urban prefect.

XIII. CARCERARII.

The inscriptions showing the influence of

Hadrian.

C. I. L. IX, 1617 (7), A. D. 134; cf. C. I. L.

Septimius Severus.

C. I. L. III, 3412 (4), A. D. 228; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 531 (6), time of Gordian; cf. the epithet '*Gordianae*.'

C. I. L. VI, 1057 (1), A. D. 205; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 1058 (2), A. D. 210; cf. C. I. L.

Constantine.

Henzen 6808 (8), probably prior to 327 A. D. Test M¹, a.

XIV. COMMENTARIENSES.

The inscriptions showing the influence of

Septimius Severus.

C. I. L. II, 4122 (5), time of Severus and Caracalla; cf. Prosopographia.

C. I. L. III, 4452 (7), A. D. 212; cf. C. I. L.

¹ Cf. C. I. L. VI, 3884.

C. I. L. VI, 13 (18), A. D. 228; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 1057 (12), A. D. 205; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 1058 (13), A. D. 210; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VIII, 2586 (6), time of Elagabalus or Alexander; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. Rh. 1304 (3), A. D. 213; cf. C. I. Rh.

C. I. L. VI, 1564 (10), probably latter part of second century; cf. C. I. L.

Aurelian.

C. I. L. III, 1619 (15), prior to 275 A. D. Test F.

C. I. L. VIII, 8328 (9), prior to 275 A. D. Test G.

Constantine.

C. I. L. III, 4412 (4); V, 7004 (14); VIII, 2812 (17 and 11), prior to 337. Test E.

It need be noted in regard to this list simply that all those of authenticated dates fall between the years 205 and 228.

XV. LIBRARIUM.

The inscriptions showing the influence of

Vespasian.

C. I. L. VI, 22 (33), A. D. 113; cf. C. I. L.

Hadrian.

C. I. L. VI, 388, 2b (18), A. D. 177; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. III, 5953 (27), probably second century. Test C.

Septimius Severus.

C. I. L. III, 6246 (7), time of Caracalla; cf. the epithet *Antoniniana*.

C. I. L. VI, 225 (42), A. D. 200; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 220 (38), A. D. 203; cf. C. I. L.

- C. I. L. VI, 3401 (48), time of Caracalla; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VIII, 217 (36), A. D. 199; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VIII, 2553 (49), A. D. 199; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VIII, 2568 (43), time of Elagabalus; cf. C. I.
 L.
 C. I. Rh. 146 (14), A. D. 232; cf. C. I. Rh.
 C. I. Rh. 1883 (19), A. D. 201; cf. C. I. Rh.
 C. I. Rh. 1977 (39), probably A. D. 208; cf. C. I. Rh.
 Boissieu 335 (32), probably time of Severus; cf. 'D.
 and S.'

Valerian-Gallienus.

- C. I. L. III, 1194 (11); 3334 (10); 3538 (9), prior
 to Gallienus. Test F.

Aurelian.

- C. I. L. VIII, 2626 (50-55), time of Aurelian; cf.
 C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 804 (34); 885 (40); 909 (29); 1099
 (56); 1105 (12); 1205 (31), prior to 275 A. D. Test N.
 C. I. L. III, 1166 (13); 1317 (37); 1318 (1); Eph.
 Ep. vol. 4, 137 (46); 138 (44), prior to 275 A. D. Tests
 N and F.

Diocletian.

- C. I. L. VIII, 2973 (24), not later than Diocletian, be-
 tween 198 and 306 A. D. Test M. a.

Constantine.

- C. I. L. VI, 2638 (17), prior to 313 A. D. Test L.

XVI. ACTARIUS OR ACTUARIUS.

The inscriptions showing the influence of

Hadrian.

- C. I. L. IX, 1617 (19), A. D. 134; cf. C. I. L.
 Eph. Ep. vol. 4, 887 (18), A. D. 138; cf. Eph. Ep.
 Orelli 3868 (20), A. D. 137; cf. Orelli.

Septimius Severus.

- C. I. L. II, 2663 (6), A. D. 216; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 3401 (10), time of Severus and Caracalla;
 cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 3884 (17), A. D. 198; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VII, 103 (5), A. D. 224; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VII, 458 (8), time of Caracalla; cf. the
 epithet *Antoniniana*.
 C. I. L. VIII, 2564 (2), time of Elagabalus; cf. C. I. L.
 Eph. Ep. vol. 4, 160 (1), prior to Gallienus. Tests N
 and F.

Aurelian.

- C. I. L. VIII, 2626 (11, 12), time of Aurelian; cf.
 C. I. L.

Constantine.

- C. I. L. VIII, 4874 (21), probably prior to 337 A. D.
 Test E.

It should be noted that the three inscriptions belonging in the time of Hadrian, all refer to the *optio ab actis* and no well authenticated case of an *actarius* occurs prior to Severus. On the other hand there are seven references to the *actarius* after the accession of Severus and only one instance of the *optio ab actis* so late as this.¹ This seems to substantiate the guess of Cauer that the tendency was to change the title *optio ab actis* to *actarius*. In the earlier period when an *optio* was assigned the duties *ab actis* the full title of *optio ab actis* would appear, but later this was supplanted by *actarius*.²

XVII. DE EXACTIS.

The inscriptions showing the influence of

¹C. I. L. VI, 3884 (17), dated 197/8.

²Eph. Ep. vol. 4, p. 450.

Septimius Severus.

C. I. L. VI, 3401 (10), time of Severus and Caracalla;
cf. C. I. L.

C. I. Rh. 996 (2), A. D. 223; cf. C. I. Rh.

C. I. L. VIII, 2956 (6); 4240 (7), prior to Gallienus.
Test F.

C. I. L. III, 3634 (8), probably prior to Gallienus.
Test F and note to C. I. L. VIII, 4240.

Aurelian.

C. I. L. III, 4311 (3), probably prior to 275 A. D.
Test G.

Diocletian.

Henzen 6816 (4), prior to publication of *Laterculus Veronensis* in 297 A. D. Cf. Mommsen, *Abh. Ber. Acad.* 1862, p. 489 sqq.

XVIII. SCRIBÆ.

The inscriptions showing the influence of

Septimius Severus.

C. I. L. VI, 1056 (3), A. D. 205; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 1057 (5), A. D. 210; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 1058 (4, 6, 7), A. D. 210; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VIII, 2553 (13), A. D. 199; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VIII, 2755 (10), A. D. 192; cf. C. I. L.

Constantine.

C. I. L. VIII, 2852 (14); Mur. 864 (1), prior to 337
A. D. Test J.

C. I. L. VI, 3414 (12), probably prior to 337 A. D.
Test E.

C. I. L. X, 1763 (18), prior to 313 A. D. Test L.

XIX. CURATORES.

The inscriptions showing the influence of

Augustus.

C. I. L. V, 5832 (34), between 43 B. C. and 29 A. D.;
cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. V, 7005 (33), prior to Vespasian; cf. 'D. and
S.'

Vespasian.

C. I. L. III, 2733 (36), probably first century; cf. 'D.
and S.'

C. I. L. III, 3513 (32), prior to 107 A. D.; cf. 'D.
and S.'

Hadrian.

C. I. L. III, 6025 (31), A. D. 140; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 2379 (4-6), A. D. 143-144; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 2404 (16), A. D. 115-120; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 2375 (2, 3), probably A. D. 119/20; cf.
Clinton, *Fasti Rom.* 1, p. 106.

C. I. L. VIII, 9291 (27), probably time of Pius; cf.
'Pauly-Wissowa.'

Septimius Severus.

C. I. L. VI, 225 (23), A. D. 200; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 228 (24), A. D. 205; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 2385 (7-9), A. D. 209; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 3884 (17), A. D. 197-198; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VIII, 4510 (25), between 211 and 214; cf.
Egbert, *Latin Inscriptions*, p. 137.

C. I. L. VIII, 2562 (37), probably in the time of
Severus; cf. C. I. L., note.

Aurelian.

C. I. L. III, 1338 (28), prior to 275 A. D. Test N.

Constantine.

C. I. L. II, 2610 (13); IX, 2772 (15), prior to 313.
Tests L and E.

C. I. L. VI, 627 (11); 2544 (10); X, 1763 (12), prior
to 313. Test L.

C. I. L. VIII, 4874 (18), prior to 337. Test E.

XX. ARCARII.

The inscriptions showing the influence of

Septimius Severus.

C. I. L. VIII, 2618 (3), A. D. 211-12; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VIII, 3289 (1), probably time of Severus,
Caracalla and Geta; cf. 'D. and S.,' note also the Auggg. of
the inscription.

Aurelian.

Eph. Ep. vol. 4, 138 (4), prior to 275 A. D. Test N.

XXI. CUSTOS ARMORUM.

The inscriptions showing the influence of

Septimius Severus.

C. I. L. III, 3457 (5), A. D. 231; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. III, 4238 (40), time of Caracalla; cf. the
epithet *Antoniniana*.

C. I. L. VI, 225 (51), A. D. 200; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 228 (52), A. D. 205; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VIII, 2563 (66), A. D. 209-11; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VIII, 2564 (8), A. D. 218; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VIII, 2618 (70, 71), A. D. 200; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. Rh. 1024 (43), A. D. 205; cf. C. I. Rh.

Eph. Ep. vol. 2, 693 (64), A. D. 223; cf. Eph. Ep.

Aurelian.

C. I. L. III, 1138 (61), prior to 275 A. D. Test N.

Diocletian.

C. I. L. III, 3529 (3) probably prior to the death of Diocletian. Test I and Eph. Ep. vol. 5, 126.

Constantine.

C. I. L. V, 5196 (63); VIII, 2565 (9-11); Eph. Ep. vol. 4, 533 (42), probably prior to 337. Test E.

C. I. L. VI, 2699 (74), prior to 313 A. D. Test L.

It may be noted that this *principalis* does not appear before 200 A. D. and nine of the inscriptions of authenticated date fall before the year 231.

XXII. OPTIONES.

The inscriptions showing the influence of

Vespasian.

C. I. L. VI, 221 (130), A. D. 113; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. V, 6423 (54), probably the first century; cf. 'D. and S.'

C. I. L. VII, 912, b. (5), possibly the first century; cf. C. I. L.

Eph. Ep. vol. 4, 532 (55), prior to Trajan; cf. C. I. L. III, p. 482.

Hadrian.

C. I. L. VI, 100(173), A. D. 157; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 414 (169), A. D. 191; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 2379 (80, 81), A. D. 143-4; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. IX, 1617 (109), A. D. 134; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. IX, 5839 (91), A. D. 137; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. Rh. 973 (63), A. D. 178; cf. C. I. Rh.

- C. I. Rh. 1301 (170), A. D. 185; cf. C. I. Rh.
 Eph. Ep. vol. 4, 887 (105), A. D. 138; cf. Eph. Ep.
 C. I. L. III, 92 (42), probably second century; cf.
 C. I. L. VII, p. 334.
 Eph. Ep. vol. 4, 894 (87), prior to Severus; cf. Eph. Ep.
 note.

Septimius Severus.

- C. I. L. III, page 896, D. LIII (150), A. D. 247; cf.
 C. I. L.
 C. I. L. III, 3445, A. D. 218; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 220 (127), A. D. 200; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 323 (100), A. D. 221-22; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 1056 (110-113), A. D. 205; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 1057 (114-120), A. D. 205; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 1058 (121-125), A. D. 210; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 2385 (82-86), A. D. 209; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 3038 (131), time of Gordian; cf. 'Pauly-
 Wissowa.'
 C. I. L. VI, 3057 (133), A. D. 219; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 3069 (134), A. D. 221; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 3076 (132), A. D. 226-229; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 3409 (14), A. D. 197-213; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VI, 3884 (106), A. D. 198; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VIII, 217 (28), A. D. 199; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VIII, 2553 (168), A. D. 199; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VIII, 2554 (39), time of Severus and Cara-
 calla; cf. 'Cagnat,' p. 144.
 C. I. L. VIII, 2555 (68), time of Severus and Cara-
 calla; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VIII, 2557 (20), A. D. 203; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VIII, 2563 (163), A. D. 209-211; cf. C. I. L.
 C. I. L. VIII, 4294 (77), time of Severus and Cara-
 calla; cf. 'Cagnat,' p. 216.
 C. I. L. IX, 1609 (104), A. D. 214; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. X, 7583 (78), time of Severus and Caracalla;
cf. Wilmanns, 1281, note 3.

C. I. Rh. 219 (66), A. D. 233; cf. C. I. Rh.

C. I. Rh. 1302 (171), A. D. 198; cf. C. I. Rh.

C. I. Rh. 1746 (156), A. D. 212; cf. C. I. Rh.

C. I. Rh. 1883 (70, 71), A. D. 201-202; cf. C. I. Rh.

Gruter 12, 1 (12), A. D. 200; cf. Cauet.

C. I. L. III, 5924 (139), probably time of Caracalla.
The inscription is *p(ro) s(alute) Antonini Imp. N.*; cf.
C. I. L. III, p. 708.

C. I. L. III, 6180 (75), probably time of Severus; cf.

C. I. L.

Eph. Ep. vol. 4, 892 (88), probably time of Severus; cf.
Eph. Ep.

Valerian-Gallienus.

C. I. L. III, 89 (41), time of Valerian-Gallienus; cf.
the epithet *Valerianana-Galli*.

C. I. L. VIII, 2482 (17, 23, 72), A. D. 253; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. III, 4328 (67); C. I. Rh. 1081 (64); Grut.
556 (3), prior to Gallienus. Test F.

Aurelian.

C. I. L. VIII, 9964 (144), A. D. 272; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. III, 830 (161); 1015 (148); 1094 (76); 1590
(160); 1124 (53); Eph. Ep., vol. 4, 138 (47), prior to 275
A. D. Test N.

Eph. Ep. vol. 4, 536 (59), probably prior to second half
of third century. Test O.

Constantine.

C. I. L. II, 2610 (96); III, 3530 (8); 4491 (61);
V, 7004 (65); 7160 (94); 7872 (62); VI, 215 (102);
2440 (172); 2534 (101); 2716 (98); 2747 (99); 2758
(103); VIII, 1322 (143); 2565 (35); 2886 (25); 2994

(16); 4874 (108); IX, 435 (52); X, 135 (189); XI, 19 (60); Eph. Ep. vol. 2, 496 (1); 4, 893 (89); Henzen 6771 (97); Mur. 821 (92); 845 (7); Orelli 3514 (190), prior to 337. Test E.

C. I. L. VI, 627 (93); 2447 (90), prior to 313 A. D. Test L.

C. I. L. VIII, 1026 (107); X, 3880 (128), prior to 327 A. D. Test M,¹ a.

XXIII. TESSERARII.

The inscriptions showing the influence of

Vespasian.

C. I. L. VI, 221 (21), A. D. 113; cf. C. I. L.

Hadrian.

C. I. L. II, 2553 (67), A. D. 167; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 2379 (23), A. D. 143; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. IX, 1617 (36), A. D. 134; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VIII, 4330 (56), A. D. 158; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. IX, 5808 (28), A. D. 137; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. III, 2887 (34), between the time of Vespasian and of Pius; cf. C. I. L.

Septimius Severus.

C. I. L. VI, 220 (19), A. D. 200; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 1056 (1-4), A. D. 205; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 1057 (5-11), A. D. 205; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 1058 (12-15), A. D. 210; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 1063 (16), A. D. 212; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 2384 (24), A. D. 198; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 2385 (25), A. D. 209; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 3884 (35), A. D. 197; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VIII, 217 (44), A. D. 199; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VIII, 2552 (47), A. D. 198; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VIII, 2564 (49-51), time of Elagabalus; cf.

C. I. L.

C. I. Rh. 1027 (78), A. D. 230; cf. C. I. Rh.

Eph. Ep. vol. 2, 695 (74), A. D. 223; cf. Eph. Ep.

C. I. L. VIII, 2562 (48), probably time of Severus; cf.

C. I. L.

Eph. Ep. vol. 4, 529 (76), probably time of Severus; cf.

Eph. Ep.

Aurelian.

C. I. L. III, 935 (58); 1189 (64); 1592 (62); 1638 (71), prior to 275 A. D. Test N.

Constantine.

C. I. L. II, 2610 (31); VI, 2454 (27); XI, 20 (29); Henzen 6771 (32), prior to 337 A. D. Test E.

C. I. L. V, 7740 (26); VI, 2705 (33); X, 1763 (30), prior to 313 A. D. Test L.

C. I. L. XI, inter schedas (37), prior to 327 A. D. Test M,¹ a.

XXIV. FRUMENTARIUS.

The inscriptions showing the influence of

Vespasian.

C. I. L. 3835 (52), probably prior to Trajan; cf. 'D. and S.'

Hadrian.

C. I. L. III, 1980 (73), A. D. 170; cf. C. I. L.

Septimius Severus.

C. I. L. III, 3524 (65), A. D. 228; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 230 (42), A. D. 222-225; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 423 (75), time of Gordian; cf. the epithet *Gordiana*.

C. I. L. VI, 428 (80), A. D. 235; cf. C. I. L.

C. I. L. VI, 1063 (86, 87), A. D. 212; cf. C. I. L.

Grut. 12 (15), A. D. 200; cf. Cauer.

Aurelian.

C. I. L. III, 1474 (25); VI, 1110 (84); VIII, 1322 (82), prior to 275 A. D. Test N.

Constantine.

C. I. L. II, 484 (83); V, 3362 (28); VI, 232 (16); 3339 (9); 3342 (23); 3349 (35, 36); 3360 (58); VIII, 2825 (78); Henzen 6747 (77); Panvin. cod. Vat. 6035 f. 71 (54), probably prior to 337 A. D. Test E.

C. I. L. VI, 3336 (12), prior to 313 A. D. Test L.

The inscription prior to Hadrian, C. I. L. 3835 (52) runs as follows:

Cereri sac|Vibius fru|mentarius|leg. XV voto|suscept|
o. e. c.

Its latest possible date is fixed by the fact that *leg. XV Apol.* was probably taken from Pannonia by Trajan at the time of the Parthian war. It shows by its dedication to Ceres that the *frumentarius* has his old function in the management of the grain supply.¹ This accords with Hirschfeld's theory that the function of the *frumentarii* as secret police began under Hadrian.²

XXV. SPECULATORES.

The inscriptions showing the influence of

Augustus.

Wilmanns 1617 (132), A. D. 66; cf. Wil.

¹ Mommsen-Marquardt, *Röm. Alt.* vol. 5, p. 492, note 2.

² *Sitzungsberichte der Ber. Akad.* 1891, p. 856; cf. 'Vita Hadriani' 11, 4.

C. I. L. III, 1914 (25), probably prior to A. D. 69;
cf. 'D. and S.'

Vespasian.

C. I. L. III, pag. 853, D. X (109), A. D. 76; cf. C. I. L.

Hadrian.

C. I. L. VI, 2375 (38-42), A. D. 120; cf. C. I. L.
C. I. L. VI, 2379 (43-57), A. D. 143; cf. C. I. L.
C. I. L. VI, 2381 (63-69), A. D. 153-55; cf. C. I. L.
C. I. L. VI, 2382 (70-72), A. D. 173-6; cf. C. I. L.
C. I. L. VI, 2405 (83-85), A. D. 125; cf. C. I. L.
C. I. L. VI, 3375 (36, 37), A. D. 120; cf. C. I. L.
Eph. Ep. vol. 4, 886 (80-82), A. D. 137; cf. Eph. Ep.
Eph. Ep. vol. 4, 887 (86, 87), A. D. 141; cf. Eph. Ep.

Septimius Severus.

C. I. L. II, 4122 (22), time of Severus and Caracalla;
cf. Prosopographia.

C. I. L. III, 990 (28), A. D. 238-244; cf. C. I. L.
C. I. L. III, 3021 (26), time of Gordian; cf. C. I. L.
C. I. L. III, 3524 (3), A. D. 228; cf. C. I. L.
C. I. L. III, 4452 (1), A. D. 212; cf. C. I. L.
C. I. L. VI, 867 (105), A. D. 238; cf. C. I. L.
C. I. L. VI, 2385 (73-79), A. D. 209; cf. C. I. L.
C. I. L. VI, 2799 (98), A. D. 227; cf. C. I. L.
C. I. L. VI, 2833 (92), time of Alexander; cf. C. I. L.
C. I. L. VIII, 2586 (14), time of Elagabalus; cf.
C. I. L.
Eph. Ep. vol. 4, 892 (82), probably time of Severus; cf.
Eph. Ep.

Constantine.

C. I. L. III, 2915 (138); 4843 (121); V, 2832 (114);
5071 (115); 6597 (104); VI, 2528 (90); 2552 (117);

2561 (91); 2586 (95); 2607 (97); 2653 (99); 2660 (100); 2668 (101); 2683 (102); 2722 (103); 2743 (106); 2755 (108); 2833 (96); 2782 (124); 3482 (127); 3600 (120); 3607 (122); 3629 (126); 3891 (94); VII, 24 (4, 5); IX, 7 (27); 4783 (89); X, 684 (93); C. I. Rh. 1171 (29); Mur. 796, 7 (135); Orelli 3908 (136), prior to 337 A. D. Test E.

C. I. L. VI, 2453 (88); 3894 (107); IX, 40 (125), prior to 313 A. D. Test L.

	Augustus—69			Vespasian 117			Hadrian 192			Sep. Severus 253			Val. Gal. 270			Aurelian 294			Diocletian—306			Constantine—337			
	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	a	b	c	
I. a Vexillarius	2	1	5	3	1	3	3	7	1				1												1
I. b Signifer	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	9	3	2	21	3	2	1		1	7	1							34
III. Aquilifer	2	2				2	1	3	3	1	1										1				2
III. Imaginifer						1	2	1	1	5	1					1									1
IV. Qui sigma canunt		1	2	3	1	6	2	2	2	9	2					4									9
V. Beneficarius	1	1	4			16	3	2	2	62	4	1	2	17		24		17							32
VI. Singularis						5				6	1				4			1						2	
VII. Secutor tribuni				1						7			4			2									4
VIII. Strator						3				7					2									1	
IX. Immunis	1					3				7	1				4	2								1	
X. Cornicularius				1		1	8	2	2	1	1		5	1		4	1	4							15
XI. Codicillarius										3															3
XII. Quaestorius						1				4														1	
XIII. Carcerarius						1				4														3	
XIV. Commentariensis										7	1		3	1		2									1
XV. Librarius				1		1	1			6	2		3	11		1									1
XVI. Actarius						3				6		1				1									1
XVII. De Exactis										2	3					1			1						4
XVIII. Scribae										5	1					1									4
XIX. Curatores	1	1		1	1	3	2			1					1									4	
XX. Arcarius										9						1									4
XXI. Custos armorum										1						1									1
XXII. Optio				1	2	1	8	1	1	28	3	2	1	1	1	7								17	
XXIII. Tesserarius				1			5	1	13	2					4									11	
XXIV. Frumentarius				1			1		6						3									34	
XXV. Speculator	1	1		1		8			10	1														213	
Grand total	9	2	7	18	10	9	88	13	12	264	21	10	4	34	4	78	1	1	27						
Non-titular vexillarii	2					3																			
Duplicates	1			4		26			74						1										
Total	6			9		59			190		4		3		1										

The most general conclusion to be drawn from an observation of the foregoing table is that the influence of Septimius Severus on the institution under discussion is of the greatest importance. The inscriptions of assured date falling between the accession of Severus and that of Valerian, a period of about sixty years, are more than twice as numerous as those of all the time considered,

exclusive of these sixty years, a period more than four times as long. When it is further noted that a very large proportion of this number, about three-fourths I should judge, falls between the beginning of the third century and the death of Alexander Severus, not much more than half of sixty years, the contrast is even more striking. It may be argued that the age of Severus is one of great epigraphic activity and that the number of inscriptions produced then was greater than in the other periods, or that for some reason or other a greater number of inscriptions of this time has been preserved. But if either of these causes were the efficient cause, we should find that the number of civil inscriptions would be greater at this time. The opposite of this is, however, found to be the case. Nearly all the inscriptions referring to subordinate ranks of the civil service have disappeared at the time that the military inscriptions show so marked an increase.¹

The *principales* that appear in the inscriptions from the time of the reign of Augustus; namely, *signifer*, *aquilifer*, *beneficiarius*, *immunis*, *speculator* and *curator fisci* are such as are performing strictly military functions or such as have secured exemption from such service, with the exception of the *curator* who is a financial officer of the praetorian and urban cohorts.²

Those *principales* appearing subsequent to the accession of Vespasian and prior to Hadrian; namely, *bucinator*, *tubicen*, *secutor tribuni*, *cornicularius*, *optio*, *tesserarius*, *vezillarius* (?) and *librarius*, are all of the same general type as those above mentioned, with the exception of the *librarius*³ whose functions seem to be somewhat similar to those of the *curator fisci*.

The general character of the *principales* appearing subsequent to Hadrian's accession; namely, *quaestionarius*

¹ Hirschfeld, Verwaltungsgeschichte l. c.

² Cf. Mommsen-Marquardt, Röm. Alt. vol. 5, p. 550, n. 19.

³ Eph. Ep. vol. 4, p. 425.

carcerarius, *strator*, *actarius* and *singularis* is less distinctively military. The first two, *quaestionarius* and *carcerarius*, have certain functions under the military judicial tribunals.¹ The *actarius*² has the functions of an accountant, similar in character to those of the *librarius*. The *strator* performs the functions of a groom.³ The *singularis* alone of this list may be classed as a distinctively military functionary.⁴

Those *principales* appearing after the accession of Severus; namely, *codicillarius*, *commentariensis*, *de exactis*, *scribae*, *custos armorum* and, possibly, *vexillarius* are all distinctively non-military in character, except the last two mentioned. Of these, the *custos armorum* is a quasi administrative officer who has control of the arsenals.⁵ The *vexillarius* may be considered a special development among the *vigiles*, in the time of Septimius Severus, if the surmise in regard to the inscription C. I. L. VI, 221 is correct.⁶

We may fairly conclude, from the observation of this development in the institution of the *principalitas*, that the tendency to assign to military subalterns duties that are civil or quasi civil in nature, was a constantly progressive one up to the time of Septimius Severus. Under this emperor we may assume, from the absence of the inscriptions referring to the lower orders of the procuratorial career, that this process was completed and these civil functions were performed by individuals who actually belonged to the army.

Just after the period of Severus the number of inscriptions referring to the *principales*, suddenly decreases very

¹ Eph. Ep. vol. 4, p. 421 and 422; cf. M.-M. Röm. Alt. vol. 5, p. 552, note 1 and 2.

² Eph. Ep. vol. 4, p. 429.

³ M.-M. Röm. Alt. vol. 5, p. 548.

⁴ Eph. Ep. vol. 4, p. 404.

⁵ Mommsen-Marquardt, Röm. Alt. vol. 5, p. 551.

⁶ Cf. ante p. 277.

markedly. Between the accession of Valerian, 253 A. D., and that of Aurelian, 270 A. D., we find two references to a *beneficiarius*,¹ and two to an *optio*.² In the period from the accession of Aurelian to the accession of Diocletian there are three inscriptions, one referring to a *cornicularius*,³ one to a *librarius* and *actarius*⁴ and one to an *optio*.⁵ In the reign of Diocletian–Maximianus there is one inscription referring to a *cornicularius*⁶ and one referring to a *signifer*.⁷

That the first of these inscriptions belongs in the reign of Diocletian–Maximianus seems assured, for the name of the latter appears almost entire, (*Ma*)*ximiano*. That it belongs early in the reign is shown from the *trib. pot. I*, also by the reference to the *praefectus praetorio* as *eminentissimus*.⁸ The character of the office of *cornicularius* as given in the inscription is not clearly defined. He is simply *cornicularius praef. praet.* Whether as such he is a military officer or a civil official does not appear. The second inscription is referred, on the basis of the statement in Forcellini's Lexicon, to the joint reign of Diocletian and Maximianus.

The consideration of the two inscriptions coming subsequent⁹ to the Diocletian–Constantine period will be deferred until after the examination of the other post-Constantine sources, especially the Codex Theodosianus.

THE TESTIMONY OF THE LATER RECORDS.

Of all the *principales* cited in Cauer's list, the following do not appear in the index to the Corpus Legum of Haenel: *vexillarius*, *aquilifer*, *imaginifer*, *aneator*, *bucinator*, *corni-*

¹ C. I. L. III, 3906 (59), dated 257; C. I. L. VIII, 2797 (163), time of Gallienus.

² C. I. L. III, 89 (41), time of Valerian–Gallienus; C. I. L. VIII, 2482 (17, 23, 72), 253 A. D.

³ C. I. Rh. 1559, 1560 (85), time of Aurelian.

⁴ C. I. L. VIII, 2626 (50–55), time of Aurelian.

⁵ C. I. L. VIII, 9964 (144), A. D. 272.

⁶ C. I. L. VIII, 4325.

⁷ C. I. L. V, 5823.

⁸ Cf. Test J.

⁹ C. I. L. V, 8752 (105); C. I. Gr. 5187 c (25).

cen, tubicen, singularis, secutor tribuni, codicillarius, carcerarius, exactus, curator fisci, custos armorum, tesserarius. Of those referred to in the Codex Theodosianus or other post-Diocletian records, the following statements may be made:

STRATORES.

As early as 320 A. D. these are acting as prison officials under the *rationalis*, who here seems to be the acting *praeses*,¹ but later, in the year 373 A. D.,² they are acting as grooms, though in the civil service, under a *praeses provinciae*. In 386 A. D.³ they are acting in a civil capacity under the *praefectus praetorio*. In the year 396 A. D. we find that a *strator* is employed under the *proconsul Africae* as a *peraequator*⁴ (equalizer of taxes), and in the performance of his duties he has acted unjustly in depriving certain *possessores iuris emphyteutici* of their rights. In each case they are civil functionaries.

IMMUNES.

The *immunitas* of the Codex Theodosianus has nothing in common with that of the pre-Diocletian period. It is exemption from reception of state dignitaries,⁵ exemption from payments to avoid reception of state officers,⁶ exemption from *militia*, explained by Gothofredus⁷ as 'furnishing of recruits,' exemption from the duty of giving games as a praetor, granted to ex-officials of the imperial *scrinia*.⁸

In no case can this *immunitas* be referred either to the *immunitas lignandi et aquandi* nor to an *immunis* with a titular character, allied to a *beneficiarius*.

¹ Cod. Theod. 9, 3, 1, (c) Comm. Goth.

² Cod. Theod. 6, 31, 1.

³ Cod. Theod. 8, 8, 4.

⁴ Cod. Theod. 13, 11, 5.

⁵ Cod. Theod. 6, 23, 4.

⁶ Cod. Theod. 7, 8, 7.

⁷ Cod. Theod. 13, 3, 10 (c); cf. also Cod. Theod. 6, 23, 2.

⁸ Cod. Theod. 6, 26, 13. The *deposita militia* here does not, of course, refer to the *militia armata*.

CORNICULARIUS.

The *cornicularii* of the later period retain the name derived from their old military character—they were so called because of the *corniculum* or little plume worn in the helmet—but their functions are changed, and with the change of function has come a false derivation of the name, from the fact that they stand at the *cornua* of the *secretarium* or chamber of the judicial consistorium.¹ They are assigned to the praetorian prefects and to each provincial governor.² In an enactment of 312 A. D. we find a reference to *cornicularii* of the fleet.³

The enactments regulating the functions of the *cornicularii* are in every instance addressed to civil officials.⁴

The *cornicularius* has become an assistant of civil officials and has lost his old military characteristics.

QUAESTIONARIUS.

The one reference to the *quaestionarii* in the Codex Theodosianus refers to the punishment of certain orthodox clerics *quaestionariis deditos*.⁵ The exact status of these *quaestionarii* is not manifest from the reference, but as the abuse of their power can be corrected by the intervention of a superior civil official, it may fairly be assumed that they are acting in a civil capacity. A recently discovered

¹ Cassiod. Epist. 11, 36; cf. Cod. Theod. 8, 4, 10, Comm. Goth., p. 506, 2.

² Cod. Theod. 8, 4, 10, Commentarius.

³ Cod. Theod. 8, 7, 21. This is explained by Gothofredus on p. 614 as follows: *Cornicularii vero classium urbis Constantinop. qui, ut existimo, praefecto praetorio ius dicente super classibus urbis Constantinop. cornibus secretarii praesto esset.*

⁴ Cf. Cod. Theod. 1, 15, 11; 6, 26, 5; 7, 4, 32; 8, 4, 10; 8, 7, 8 and 21; 8, 15, 3.

⁵ Appendix Cod. Theod. c. Sirm. 3. This is issued by Imppp. Valentinianus, Theodosianus and Arcadius, to the *praefectus Augustalis*; i. e., the praefect of the diocese of Egypt.

inscription,¹ referred by Myer to the fourth century,² contains a reference to a *quaestionarius* in the third Cyrenaic legion. The inscription runs as follows: oves Hammo|M. Aur. Theodor|a quaestionaris| <> leg. III Cyr.

This is placed by Myer in the fourth century because of the name of the centurion, which is the same as that of a governor of Arabia, in the year 346 A. D., and he conjectures that the legion was sent on an expedition into Palestine at this time. But the resemblance of names counts for little in the case of a name so commonly used as this and we do not have to conjecture that the legion was in Palestine in the first or in the second century because it is well known that it took part in the operations against Jerusalem under Titus and again under Hadrian.³

COMMENTARIENSIS.

This official is a jailer in the later period. In three of the instances in which he is mentioned in the Code of Theodosius he is found in the service of the praetorian prefect,⁴ twice under the *praefectus urbis*.⁵

LIBRARIJ.

The *librarii* in the Code of Theodosius are copyists or transcribers of documents⁶ and not keepers of accounts⁷ as in the early time.

In the later time they are employed in the civil service of the *praefectus urbis* and *praefectus praetorio*. The one addressed to the last named official is dated 335 A. D.,

¹ Cf. Palestine Exploration Fund, 1895, p. 136. Rev. Arch., vol. 27 (1895), p. 138.

² N. Jahr. für Phil. und Ped., vol. 155 (1897), p. 591.

³ Pauly, Real Encyclopadie, *Legio III Cyrenaica*.

⁴ Cod. Theod. 8, 15, 5; 9, 3, 5 and 6.

⁵ Cod. Theod. 8, 15, 3; 9, 40, 5.

⁶ Cod. Theod. 14, 1, 1; 8, 9, 1.

⁷ Cf. Eph. Ep., vol. 4, p. 425.

which shows that in the time of Constantine the *librarius* has become a civil official. The *librarius* mentioned in the Edict of Diocletian is a teacher of boys, paired with an *antiquarius* in the enumeration of teachers of various classes.¹

In a letter of Julian we have a reference to a certain Georgius, acting as *librarius*. He is evidently a private secretary and a slave.²

Actarius or Actuarium.

The *actuarii* in the Code of Theodosius are subordinates of the *praefectus praetorio*, having certain duties in the collection and distribution of the *annona militaris*.³ They are found also in the service of the *praefectus urbis* of Constantinople,⁴ where they have a share in the management of the *annonae* of the *numeri praesentales* of the city of Constantinople. In an enactment of Constantius,⁵ the emperor commands the praetorian prefect to give effect to the order concerning the *actuarii* by means of 'letters sent to the *magister equitum et peditum*'. The order directs that the *actuarii* should be prevented from creeping into 'certain dignities,' probably controlled by the *magister eq. et ped.*

It is plain that the *actuarii* of the later period are thought of as civil officials and not as military officers, because they are acting under the praetorian prefect or with similar duties, in the collection and distribution of grain supplies, under the *praefectus urbis*. Caer thinks that this function was given to them before the time of Diocletian and cites, as proving his assumption, the

¹ Ed. Dioclet. de Pretiis; cf. Haenel, *Corpus Legum*, p. 178.

² Haenel, *Corpus Legum*, p. 214.

³ Cod. Theod. 7, 4, 11 (dated 364) and 7, 4, 24 (dated 398).

⁴ Cod. Theod. 8, 1, 14.

⁵ Cod. Theod. 8, 1, 5, dated 357 A. D.

passage from Victor,¹ which refers to an *actuarius* who, in the year 268 A. D., is performing functions similar to those of these officials in the post-Dioctetian period. But a careful examination of this passage fails to bear out the assumption that this is a description of the *actuarius* in the time prior to Dioctetian.

In section twelve of this chapter Victor describes the murder of the emperor Victorinus—which occurred in 268 A. D.—at the hands of a certain Attitianus, whose wife the emperor had debauched. In the succeeding section, Victor says that Attitianus was an *actuarius*, and in a long digression describing this officer he speaks of him as *annonae dominans*. In a discussion of the relation of the sources of Victor, Eutropius and the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Dessau² shows that Victor and Eutropius are both using the same source for the period in question. Furthermore that it is characteristic of Victor to change the wording of the source while following closely the subject matter. Now Victor found in his source the fact that Victorinus had been killed by an *actuarius*, but the elaboration of the section following this statement of fact is Victor's own addition to the source. In Victor's time, as we know from the testimony of the Code of Theodosius,³ the *actuarii* were such characters as Victor here describes.⁴ Eutropius gives the account of the death of Victorinus at the hands of an *actuarius* without elaborating upon the character of the officer.⁵

The very emphasis put by Victor upon the present time, *praesertim hac tempestate*, shows that he was not certain

¹ Aur. Vic. Caes. 33.

² Die *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Dessau, Herm. vol. 24 (1889), p. 361 fol.

³ Cod. Theod. 7, 4, 24 and 28, Comm. Goth.

⁴ Vic. Caes. 33, 13: *genus hominum, praesertim hac tempestate nequam, venale, callidum, seditiosum, habendi cupidum, atque ad patrandas fraudes velandasque quasi ab natura factum; annonae dominans, etc.*

⁵ Eutropius 9, 9. *occisus est actuario quodam machinante dolum imperii sui anno secundo.*

that the description which was appropriate to his own time applied equally well to the year 268.

The account of this occurrence as given by Trebellius Pollio¹ distinguishes sharply between the *militares* and the *milites*. Gothofredus² thinks that Trebellius Pollio makes this distinction because the *actuarius* is a *militaris* and not a *miles*, but, if the hypothesis of Dessau³ is correct that the Scriptor is copying Victor, the word *militaris* used by Trebellius is simply a condensation of the description of the office given by Victor in *Caesares* 33, 13. It should be noted that it is in this very passage by Trebellius⁴ that Dessau sees such assured proof of the use of a fourth century source—in this instance to be sure of Eutropius⁵—by the Scriptor who pretends to be writing a half century or more prior to the time of Victor and Eutropius.

We conclude, therefore, that there is no good reason for supposing, as does Cauer, that this change in function occurred prior to Diocletian. The earliest mention of the changed function in the Code of Theodosius is in 364 A. D.⁶

SCRIBAE.

(1) Exceptores.

These officials are short hand reporters and copyists in the public service of the municipalities.⁷ They are found in the service of the *comes sacrarum largitionum*,⁸ who had

¹ *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, 24, 6, 3.

² *Cod. Theod.* 7, 4, 11, dated 364 A. D. *Comm. Goth.*

³ *Die Script. Hist. Aug. Herm.* vol. 24 (1889), p. 367.

⁴ *Script. Hist. Aug.* 24, 6, 3.

⁵ Cf. *Die S. H. A.* op. cit. p. 373, n. 3, where Dessau discusses the blunder in the name of Laelianus, which the Scriptor writes Lollianus in imitation of a blunder in one of the manuscripts of Eutropius.

⁶ *Cod. Theod.* 7, 4, 11.

⁷ *Cod. Theod.* 12, 1, 151, A. D. 396; *Nov. Val.* 18, 10.

⁸ *Cod. Theod.* 6, 30, 7, A. D. 384; 6, 30, 22, A. D. 419.

charge of the receipt of taxes devoted to defraying the expenses of the extraordinary largesses to the soldiers.¹

They acted under the *judices*, or *rectores provinciae*,² who were subject to the *praefectus praetorio*.

In each instance they are performing civil functions.

(2) Notarii.

These are mentioned along with other teachers in the Edict of Diocletian.³ They are found in the *consistorium* of the *princeps*,⁴ acting as shorthand copyists, also in the service of the *praefectus praetorio*.⁵

In each instance they are civil officers.

(3) Capsarii.

The only reference to this individual in the index of the Corpus Legum takes us to the *Edictum Diocletiani de Pretiis* where the price for his services is fixed along with that for the services of an architect and a *balneator*.⁶

Whatever may have been the functions of this *capsarius* we cannot think of his being an army officer.

CURATOR.

The *curatores fisci* are not mentioned in the index to the Corpus Legum. As they are peculiar to the praetorian and urban cohorts⁷ and as these bodies probably disappeared

¹ Procop. Hist. Arcan. 24, p. 71, A; cf. Pauly-Wissowa under *comitatus* 84 [Seeck].

² Cod. Theod. 8, 7, 17, A. D. 385; Comm. Goth.

³ Ed. Dioclet. de Pretiis, Haenel, Corpus Legum, p. 178.

⁴ Cod. Theod. 6, 10, 1, A. D. 380; Comm. Goth.

⁵ Cod. Theod. 6, 10, 3, A. D. 381.

⁶ C. I. L. III, 2, p. 831: *capsario in singulis labantibus X duos καμψαρίω ὑπὲρ ἐκάστον τοῦ καταμασσόμενον Υβ.*

⁷ Eph. Ep. vol. 4, p. 434.

before the death of Constantine¹ the absence of a later record of them is not hard to explain.

ARCARI.

The *arcarii* of the later period are attached to the *arca* of the *comes rei privatae*,² a civil official. The *arcarii* mentioned in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*³ were officials appointed for giving games, the expenses for which were to be defrayed *de arca fisci*.

OPTIO.

This official as described in the Code of Theodosius is a collector and distributor of grain supplies for the troops.⁴ He is under the control of the *praefectus praetorio* except in the city of Constantinople, where he is in the service of the *praefectus urbis*. The mention of the *optio* in 10, 1, 17, addressed to the *comes rerum privatarum*, is only incidental and does not imply that the *optio* is subordinate to that officer. The one inscription that I have found referring to the *optio* with the functions characteristic of the later times⁵ puts him in the *officium* of the *magister equitum et peditum*. As regards the date of this inscription it may be noted that the separation of the military and civil administration of the empire begun by Diocletian was carried to a much higher degree of perfection by Constantine. The *praefectus praetorio* was made a civil official with supreme judicial power; the *magister equitum et peditum* was given the military power. To put a check on the power of the last mentioned officer, the commissary department of the army was put under the control of the *praefectus praetorio*.

¹ Cf. Test M¹, a and L.

² Cod. Theod. 10, 1, 11; 12, 6, 14.

³ Vita Alex. 43.

⁴ Cod. Theod. 7, 4, 1, 24; 8, 7, 22; 10, 1, 17; 14, 3, 4.

⁵ C. I. L. III, 6399.

This function was assigned the *praefectus praetorio* in the year 317 A. D.¹

Now we know that the office of *magister equitum et peditum* was established at least as early as the year 315 A. D.² In C. I. L. III, 6399 Leontius is spoken of as an *optio in officio magistri equitum et peditum*. We may conclude, therefore, that this service was performed by Leontius after the office of *magister equitum et peditum* was established but before the commissary functions had been transferred to the *praefectus praetorio*.

FRUMENTARIUS.

The references in the index of the *Corpus Legum* to the *frumentarii* do not carry us to the Code of Theodosius but to certain literary sources. The superscription of the alleged letter of Gallienus to Claudius³ refers to the *frumentarii* as messengers, but there is nothing to determine whether they are acting under civil or military authority. The reference by Victor in his account of Diocletian⁴ speaks of the disbanding of the *frumentarii*, who are described as similar in character to the *agentes rerum* of Victor's own time.

Joannes Lydus⁵ tells us that in an attempt at reforming the abuses of the *cursus publicus* the management of it was left under the control of the *praefectus praetorio* but that the chief of the *frumentarii* was set to watch him. This gives us very little light on the nature of their functions at this time (during the reign of Arcadius and Honorius)

¹Seeck, Rhein. Mus. vol. 49 (1894) p. 214 Zur Echtheitsfrage der *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*.

²Cod. Theod. 11, 1, 1.

³*Scriptores Historiae Augustae* 25, 17: *Epistola Gallieni quum nuntiatum esset per frumentarios etc.*

⁴De Caes. 39, 44: *ac remoto pestilenti frumentariorum genere, quorum nunc agentes rerum simillimi sunt.*

⁵De Magistratibus 2, 10.

unless we may assume from a similar instance of the *cornicularii* in the service of the *magister officiorum* being set to watch the subordinates of the *praefectus praetorio*—the great rival of the *mag. off.*—that the *frumentarii* also were subordinates of the *magister officiorum*.¹

SPECULATOR.

The one reference to the *speculatores* in the Code of Theodosius puts them under the control of the *praefectus praetorio Orientis* and their function is that of couriers or orderlies acting under the direction of *rectores provinciae*.²

From the examination of the later records we see that of those *principales* whose names appear in the later period, the functions of *strator*, *librarius*, *cornicularius* and *optio* have become civil in nature before the end of the reign of Constantine. The *immunis militaris* and *quaestionarius militaris* do not appear. The *frumentarii* were disbanded under Diocletian, but reappear, apparently as civil officials in the reign of Arcadius and Honorius. The *exceptor*, *notarius*, *arcarius* and *speculator* do not appear with changed functions till the latter quarter of the fourth century. The *actuarius* of the later type appears in the Codex Theodosianus for the first time in the year 364, and the evidence of a change in his function prior to the time of Diocletian is not of a convincing character.

The two inscriptions that are distinctively post-Constantine may now be considered. The first of these was found at Concordia,³ and is one of a series referring to the subordinate officers of the army in the latter half of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century.⁴ This inscription mentions a *semafor* who seems to be simply the *signifer* of

¹ Cf. Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders*, Book I, p. 610.

² Cod. Theod. 8, 4, 16, dated 389; Comm. Goth.

³ Cf. C. I. L. V, 8752.

⁴ C. I. L. V, p. 1058: *sunt autem similes omnes ut reliquos quoque probabiliter adscribere liceat aevo Arcadii et Honorii (395-428 A. D.)*

the early time with a Greek spelling of his name. This is a sepulchral inscription set up by the friends of the deceased officer.

The second inscription¹ of the later period refers to a *bucinator*, coupling him with a *σειλετάριος* and a *σπαθάριος*. This reference is found in an edict of Anastasius (491-518 A. D.) *de ordinandis stipendiariis militaribus*.

The comparison of the information derived from the inscriptions with that found in the post-Diocletian records shows the following facts:

First, the inscriptions referring to the *principales* as military subalterns disappear about the time of Diocletian with the exception of the one referring to a *signifer* (*semafor*) and the one referring to a *bucinator*.

Second, the individuals bearing the names of these *principales* so far as they appear in the later records have changed their functions and are civil officials.

These facts suggest several questions. First, why do the inscriptions disappear at that time, or it may be due to some special cause operating upon the inscriptions of the class to which the *principales* inscriptions belong. I think the first of these two theories is not correct, because we know that civil inscriptions do continue, though in diminished numbers, to the end of the fourth century.²

If, then, men had not ceased to make inscriptions in the Roman empire at the close of the third century, the disappearance of inscriptions referring to the *principales* at this time must be referred to some cause operating upon these alone. This cause may be found in the general barbarization of the state that, beginning as early as the

¹C. I. Gr. 5787 c.

²Bethmann-Hollweg, op. cit. vol. 3, p. 2: "Mit der Alleinherrschaft des Christentums, Ende des vierten Jahrhunderts, schwindet in privaten Kreisen die Sitte, das Andenken Einzelner in dankbaren oder ruhmredigen Inschriften zu erhalten."

time of Marcus Aurelius, proceeded so rapidly during the third century.¹

The three quarters of a century from Severus to Diocletian was a period of tremendous revolutions. Septimius Severus boldly threw aside the theory of the dyarchy, that the power of the state rested upon the senate and the army. He made it perfectly plain that he depended upon the army alone, and his success as a military emperor, in beating down the resistance of his rivals, set the pattern for his less able successors and would-be imitators. With the death of his grandson, Alexander Severus, at the hands of the giant, Maximinus the Thracian, in 235 A. D., a period of a half century of military anarchy begins. A popular legate of a province is exalted to the purple by his soldiers. The soldiers of the legate of a neighboring province set up their commander as a counter-emperor. The opposing armies march against each other, the unsuccessful general loses his life and comes down in history as an 'usurper', while his successful opponent becomes 'emperor', to hold his position till overthrown by a new rival in a neighboring province, brought to the throne in the same way as himself. During the nominal reigns of Valerian and Gallienus we have the period of the so-called 'thirty tyrants', a name applied to these usurpers of the imperial purple for a day. This internecine war killed off the Romans in the army; i. e., those of Roman birth or education who could speak and write Latin. The Roman state had at this time ceased to produce soldiers, and the sudden diminution in the strength of the legions was compensated for by the drafting in of barbarians in large numbers.²

¹ Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt* B. 2, Chap. 6, *Die Barbaren im Reich*.

² See Seeck, *op. cit.* 1, p. 384: Cf. Seeck's note on p. 532, to line 12, of p. 384. *Hist. Aug. Claud. 9, 4: inpletæ barbaris servis Scythiæ (senibusque d. Hdschr.) cultoribus Romanæ provinciæ. factus*

The most of the stones on which the inscriptions of the *principales* are carved, are grave-stones, set up by the relations or friends of the dead Roman. But the barbaro-Roman left behind him barbarian friends and kinsmen, illiterate and without the inclination to honor the deceased in the Roman method; and consequently the inscriptions of this class cease to be made. The very sudden drop in the number of inscriptions referring to the *principales*, falling from one hundred and ninety, in the period ending in 253 A. D., to ten in all the succeeding period shows how complete this barbarization was. The only sepulchral inscription referring to a *principalis* of the post-Constantine period is the one found at Concordia.¹ This refers to a *semafor* who is evidently the *signifer* of the old period with a Greek spelling of his name, though the exact characteristics of this officer must await the further investigation of the subalterns of the later period.²

The inscription of the later period referring to a *bucinator*³ is not a sepulchral inscription, set up by the friends of the deceased trumpeter but is a legal document. The reference to the *optio* of the later period⁴ is in a sepulchral inscription, but this *optio* is one of the later type; i. e. a collector and distributor of the grain supply,

miles e barbaro (miles barbari d. Hdschr.), colonus e Gotho, etc. See also Hist. Aug. Prob. 14, 7: *accepit praeterea sedecim milia tyronum, quos omnes per diversas provincias sparsit, ita ut numeris vel limitaneis militibus quinquagenos et sexagenos intersereret, dicens sentiendum esse non videndum, cum auxiliaribus barbaris Romanus iuvatur.* That the Emperor Probus saw the danger of this policy, which he was compelled to adopt because of the circumstances of the times, and attempted to conceal what he had done, is pretty good evidence that there were other occasions on which the same policy was followed, of which, however, we have no record.

¹ C. I. L. V, 8752.

² "die gänzlich umgestalteten chargirten Gemeinde," Mommsen, Herm. vol. 24 (1889), p. 271.

³ C. I. Gr. 5187 c.

⁴ C. I. L. III, 6399.

showing that we have here a civil official and not a military officer. The inscription belongs, therefore, in the category which according to Bethmann-Hollweg continued to be made throughout the fourth century.

We have seen before that all the subalterns of the army in the early period, with the exception of the *signifer* and *bucinator*, appear in the later period as civil officials. This tendency toward military names for civil officials appears not only in those cases where the old military institution is transformed into a civil one but also in the case of the purely civil hierarchy.¹ This persistence of a name with change of function in the case of the *principales* of the old time has long been observed, but the probable reason for the retention of the old name has not, so far as I am aware, been clearly stated. The reason for Diocletian's action appears to me to lie close to the surface and necessarily arises from the fact that Diocletian had to deal with the situation as he found it. The lower orders of the procuratorial service disappeared about the beginning of the third century.² Severus assigned their functions to military men but did not change the status of these men. The process here was similar to the one that we have lately observed in the Philippines, where army officers were assigned to duties as school-teachers before the establishment of our educational civil service in those islands. In the time of Diocletian this military administrative service had been in existence for over half a century. The knowledge of a civil service as such had perished from the memory of men. The effect, however, of this militarization of the state had been military anarchy and consequent collapse of the government. Diocletian's constitutional reform corrected this trouble, but one of the fundamental principles of this reform was the separation of the civil from the military

¹ Cf. Bethmann-Hollweg. op. cit. 3, p. 135.

² Cf. Hirschfeld, l. c.

power in the state. Now, in the arrangement of the administration on the civil side Diocletian had before him as a model only a military organization. He therefore used the military names in the reorganization of the civil administration.

The two inscriptions referring to the *principales* in the later period indicate that the *principalitas* as a military institution has not ceased to exist, though it is significant that each refers to an office that is characteristic of military organization at all times and places; namely, to the standard bearer and to the trumpeter.

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CENTURIONS AS SUBSTITUTE COMMANDERS OF AUXILIARY CORPS.¹

In publishing the inscription, now C. I. L. III, 6025, in the *Archaeologische Zeitung*, vol. 23 (1869), p. 25, Mommsen called attention to the designation *curator cohortis* which was there applied to a centurion of the *legio II Trajana*. It was the only instance of this title known at that time. Mommsen considered the position identical with that of the *praepositus cohortis* mentioned in Brambach, C. I. Rh. 1583 and in C. I. L. III, 1918, and held that the service rendered was the same as that performed by the centurion under whose direction *cohors I Belgarum* restored a temple (cf. C. I. L. III, 1790 = 6362 = 8484). He supposed that the centurion was detached from his legion, in these cases, and entrusted with the command of an auxiliary corps.¹

Mommsen was disposed, furthermore, to consider these cases not as exceptional but as examples of a common practice in the latter half of the second century, holding that they illustrated a tendency which led eventually to the reversal of the practice of the Empire in regard to military promotion. For in the earlier period the military officers had been chosen from the privileged classes but in the later epoch they were advanced from the ranks.

Müller (*Philologus*, vol. 41 (1882), p. 482 ff.), in an article entitled *Abcommandierte Centurionen*, included

¹ Corps means here and throughout this paper any regularly organized body of soldiers under one officer.

² Henzen had already noticed the same phenomenon; cf. *Annal. d. Inst. Arch.* vol. 15 (1843), p. 343 ff., and vol. 22 (1850), p. 45.

centurions as commanders of *numeri* in the same category as well as all inscriptions from which we learn that a public construction was completed by an auxiliary corps under the direction of a centurion, belonging nominally to another body. For he held that in these cases the centurion directing the work of the soldiers was, for the time being, their commander. These inscriptions would, therefore, illustrate the same practice as those in which the centurion was given the appellation *curator* or *praepositus*. Müller was of the opinion that a *centurio curator cohortis* was placed in temporary command of the corps named, while the regular commander was in some way hindered from performing the functions of his office. Müller had no definite conclusion regarding the use of the term *praepositus*.

Mommsen's evidence was insufficient to establish his assertion that *curator* was equivalent to *praepositus*. For he had only the one instance of the former expression (i. e. C. I. L. III, 6025).

The inclusion by Müller of all inscriptions in which the command by the centurion is inferred from his employment as director of the labor of the soldiers of auxiliary corps is not fully substantiated. For in the inscription Appendix A, 1 we have a double indication: *cura agente . . . c(enturione) . . . curatore coh(ortis) eiusdem*. The addition of *curatore cohortis* would have been unnecessary if the command by the centurion was in all cases implied by the relation indicated by the words *cura agente*. The inscription C. I. L. III, 14147² (cf. p. 340) contains a similar double formula.

In some military inscriptions, moreover, such formulas (*curam agente, sub cura, etc.*) are used under circumstances which preclude the possibility of the official being in command of the corps named. One of these is C. I. L.

VII, 732, commemorating the restoration of a granary by *cohors II Asturum* under the direction (*curante*) of a *beneficiarius* of the provincial governor.¹ The cohort could not have been under the command of the *beneficiarius* because he was only a *principalis* and his duties administrative. He merely directed the labor of some of the soldiers of the corps.

Finally, the inscriptional evidence does not warrant the adoption of the suggestion of Mommsen that centurions gradually replaced officers of equestrian rank in the command of auxiliary corps. On the contrary the following instances may be offered in which cohorts or alae appear to have had commanders of equestrian rank at a later period than the supposed centurion commanders, thus showing that the officers of higher rank were not permanently displaced by those of lower:

1. *Cohors I Aelia Dacorum*. The inscription (Appendix A, 19) mentioning the supposed centurion commander cannot be dated. Yet we have inscriptions giving no less than seventeen tribunes of the same cohort showing that they were its regular commanders throughout the greater part of the third century.²

2. *Cohors I Hispanorum*. The inscription C. I. L. VII, 371 (Appendix A, 14) mentioning a centurion as *praepositus* of this cohort cannot be exactly dated. The praenomen and tribe of the centurion are given, while they are not indicated in the case of the prefect of the same corps in C. I. L. VII, 378. The omission in general indicates the later date.

¹ Regarding the restoration and interpretation of the inscription see Cauer, *Ephem. Epig.* vol. 4 (1881), p. 386, and for the duties of the *beneficiarii*, von Domaszewski, *Die Religion im Römischen Heere*, p. 97.

² C. I. L. VII, 837, 838, 808, 820, 822 and 823. C. I. L. VII, 823 is as late as the reign of Tetricus.

3. *Cohors II Sardorum*. The inscription (Appendix A, 8) giving a decurion as *praepositus* of this cohort is dated 208 A. D. C. I. L. VIII, 9831 gives a prefect of the same corps. The lack of praenomen indicates the third century. The cohort was already at Altava when the stone was erected, to which place it was transferred about the time of Septimius Severus (cf. Cagnat, *L'Armée Romaine dans l'Afrique*, p. 304). The prefect is probably later, therefore, than the *praepositus*.

4. *Cohors I Breucorum*. The inscription (Appendix A, 7), naming a centurion as *praepositus* of this cohort is dated 181 A. D. A third century inscription, C. I. L. III, 5613, mentions a commander of equestrian rank of the same corps.

5. *Cohors II Tungrorum*. The inscription, (Appendix A, 21), mentioning the supposed centurion commanding this corps has no exact indication of date. It was found near Edinburgh on the line of the Wall of Pius. Nearly all the inscriptions referring to the same cohort have been found at Housesteads (Borcovicium) on the line of Hadrian's Wall. The latter place was evidently the regular headquarters of the corps after the dispositions made by Hadrian.¹

The presence of the centurion at the Wall of Pius is to be explained by supposing that he was temporarily removed there to direct the construction of the fortifications, thus giving an approximate date to the inscription (138-161 A. D.) We find in Housesteads (Borcovicium) inscriptions referring probably to six different prefects of

¹ I accept the opinion of Hübner (C. I. L. VII, p. 99) that the *castella* on Hadrian's Wall do not antedate the construction of that line of fortifications. See also Hermes, vol. 16 (1881), p. 545 ff., Bruce, *Handbook to the Roman Wall*, 1885, p. 248 ff., *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, Feb. 11th, 1892.

the *cohors II Tungrorum*: C. I. L. VII, 880, 882 (cf. 885), 1064, 1068, 1072 and 1073. Unless all these prefects were in command of the corps in the period between the construction of the Wall of Hadrian and that of Pius we must suppose that the centurion mentioned in Appendix A, 21 was earlier than some of them.¹

Regarding the *numeri* the supposition of Mommsen² and Müller concerning the chronological relation of command by officers of equestrian rank and centurions is disproved by the evidence offered by Cagnat (*L'Armée Romaine dans l'Afrique*, p. 259), who holds that the command of *numeri* by centurions was customary down to about the close of the second century after which the centurions were replaced by prefects and tribunes. The evidence for this assertion is meager and Cagnat left unnoticed certain considerations which are essential to a solution of the problem, chiefly the variations in size of the different *numeri*.

Von Domaszewski (*Die Religion in Römischen Heere*, pp. 31 and 32 and note 137) asserts that centurions were the regular commanders of the *numeri* from the time of Hadrian. Too many commanders of equestrian rank are known (p. 372 ff.), however, to warrant the supposition that their appearance is only exceptional.

The epigraphic material bearing upon this question has greatly increased since the appearance of the article by Müller. Combining this additional material with the

¹ The possibility of the centurion having been delegated at a later time to superintend the making of repairs is slight since the Wall of Pius is an *agger*, not a *vallum*.

² In a later article on the *numeri* (*Hermes*, vol. 19 (1884), pp. 219-231) Mommsen does not refer to his former supposition about the gradual displacement of officers of equestrian rank by centurions. He states that centurions as *praepositi* were the regular commanders of the *numeri*, tribunes and prefects being exceptional.

meager evidence offered by the literature, I shall attempt to establish:

1) The exact force of the expressions *curator* and *praepositus*;

2) To what extent other inscriptions, recording the construction of public works by soldiers under the direction of centurions, are to be grouped with these;

3) Whether or not in all these cases we have manifestations of a fundamental change in the policy of the Empire in regard to military command.

It is essential that the discussion of the examples referring to cohorts and *alae* be separated from that relative to the *numeri*, for the results will show that the problem in each case is a different one. In the first part of this paper treating of the cohorts and *alae* I shall consider, first, the inscriptions naming *curatores*, next those referring to *praepositi* and finally those from the contents of which it may be inferred that a centurion was in command of an auxiliary corps.

I have included in the epigraphical material seven inscriptions referring to decurions of auxiliaries (cf. Appendix A, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 24 and 33) and two mentioning an auxiliary centurion (cf. Appendix A, 4 and 41). For the position of an auxiliary centurion or decurion was similar in nature to that of a centurion in the legion. In the third century the auxiliary centurions and decurions were nearly if not quite on a par with the legionary centurions in rank and dignity. We have examples of direct advancement of auxiliary centurions or decurions to the legionary centurionate; *decurio alae* to *centurio legionis*: C. I. L. VIII, 2354; *centurio cohortis* to *centurio legionis*: C. I. L. VIII, 3005; V, 522; Brambach, C. I. Rh. 787; *decurio cohortis* to *centurio legionis*: C. I. L. III, 11213. In two cases (cf. Appendix A, 3 and 10) either *decurio alae*.

decurio cohortis, *centurio cohortis* or *centurio legionis* might be supplied, as neither title nor corps are given.

I. COHORTS AND ALAE.

a. Curator.

We consider first the inscriptions illustrating the command of cohorts and alae beginning with the examples of the designation *curator*.¹

1. . . . *cura agente* (name) *c(enturione) leg(ionis) II Tr(aiana) curatore coh(ortis) eiusdem*. 140 A. D. Found at Assouan (Syene), Egypt; province of legion, Egypt; cohort in camp at Assouan (Syene).

2. . . . *c(enturioni) curator alae II Astur(um)* 150-200 A. D. A sepulchral inscription found at Chesters (Cilurnum) on Hadrian's Wall; legion not given; ala encamped at Chesters (Cilurnum).

3. . . . *curator alae I Contari(or)um* 150-200 A. D. A sepulchral inscription found at Tipasa in Mauretania; the corps to which the *curator* belonged and his position as centurion or decurion are not given; the ala was probably encamped at Arrabona in Pannonia.

4. . . . [*c(enturio)*] *c(o)hort(is) III Lusit(anorum) curat(or) pro praef(ecto) c(o)hor(tis) I Astur(um)*. Found at Aquileia in northern Italy; the headquarters of the two corps at the time of the erection of the stone are doubtful.

The inscriptional evidence for *curator* is meager and the passages in the literature, in which this term appears in a military connection (collected by Müller, op. cit. p. 485), add nothing definite regarding the meaning of the term. In light of the evidence at hand we may accept the sup-

¹The numbers correspond with those in Appendix A, where the full text of the inscriptions will be found.

position of Müller (op. cit. p. 492; cf. above p. 333) that *curator* indicated a substitute commander during the temporary inability of the regular officer to perform the functions of his position. A few observations may be offered which will increase the probability of this hypothesis.

An inscription found at Assouan (Syene) in Egypt, the same point where ins. 1 was discovered, proves that the *curator* was placed in charge of an auxiliary corps during the incumbency of the regular commander, probably while the latter was absent or temporarily disabled, for here both the *curator* and regular officer are named. The inscription (C. I. L. III, 14147³) was erected in honor of Trajan in 98 A. D. by three cohorts:

. . . . I Hispanorum eq(uitata) cui praeest Ti. Claudius Africanus et II Ituraeorum eq(uitata) cui praeest Ti(berius) Claudius Berenicianus et I Theb(aeorum) eq(uitata) cui praeest P(ublius) Claudius Iustus; curam agente P(ublio) Claudio Iusto praef(ecto) coh(ortis) I Theb(aeorum) eq(uitatae) et curatore coh(ortis) I Hispanor(um) eq(uitatae) et coh(ortis) II Ituraeor(um) equit(atae).

In this instance the *curator* was not a centurion but the prefect of one of the cohorts stationed at Assouan (Syene). We infer, therefore, that the *curator* was not necessarily a centurion in rank but whatever officer convenience suggested. We shall see later why the centurion was regularly chosen to assume, as temporary substitute, the duties of prefects (cf. pp. 358-366).

An example to illustrate how the necessity for appointing a *curator* might have arisen is offered by the history of the same *cohors I Flavia Cilicum* mentioned in ins. 1 and stationed at Assouan (Syene). A tribune of this corps was placed in charge of the soldiers at the quarries of Mons Claudianus in 118 A. D.; cf. C. I. G. 4713 f. A de-

tachment of his own cohort may have accompanied this tribune to the quarries, but the greater part of the corps must have remained at Assouan, which was a border fortress. A *curator* would then have been appointed at the headquarters of the corps.

In inscription no. 4 the expression *curat(or) pro praef(ecto)*¹ shows clearly that the centurion is acting as substitute for the prefect. Similar formulas are *procurator pro legato*,² or *tribunus militum pro legato*.³ Late in the third century the legionary prefect is named *agens vices legati*.⁴ In such a case the prefect probably assumed the duties of *legatus* during a real vacancy. Yet the formula shows that the office of *legatus legionis* was by no means abolished, though in certain cases there happened to be nobody at hand to fill it. The formula implies an exceptional state of affairs.⁵

Attention should be called to the necessity of distinguishing clearly the *curatores* under discussion from other positions held by non-commissioned officers having only the name *curator* in common. This Cauer in his work on the *principales* (Ephem. Epig. vol. 4 (1881), pp. 435-436) has failed to do. For he confuses the *curator turmae*, one of the *principales* lowest in rank,⁶ with the *curatores* men-

¹ C(enturio) is a restoration but seems to be warranted from analogy with the other inscriptions.

² Marquardt, Staatsverwaltung, vol. 1, p. 557; C. I. L. V, 3986; VIII, 9990; IX, 4678; XII, 1856.

³ Tacitus, Ann. 15, 28: *Vinicianus Annius nondum senatoria aetate, sed pro legato quintae legionis impositus.*

⁴ Cf. Wilmanns, Ephem. Epig. vol. 1 (1872), p. 102; C. I. L. III, 3424, 3469 and 4289.

⁵ Cf. Rhein. Mus. vol. 34 (1879), p. 239; Seeck, Der Untergang der Antiken Welt, vol. 2, p. 27 ff.

⁶ As is shown by the *cursus honorum* (C. I. L. VIII, 2094) G(aius) Iulius Dexter vet(eranus) mil(es) in ala eques cur(ator) turmae armor(um) custos signifer

tioned in inss. 1, 2 and 3 in our list. Yet it is possible that we have an example of a *curator turmae* in inscription 3. The stone has no mark indicating either centurion or decurion. Moreover, the inscription was probably not erected at the headquarters of the corps. The *ala I Con-tariorum* was usually encamped in Pannonia and only one other inscription naming it has been found in Mauretania. It is supposed (Cichorius, Pauly-Wissowa Real-Encyclopädie, vol. 1, p. 1239, article *ala*) that only a detachment of the corps was sent to Mauretania on the occasion of an outbreak of the Berbers during the reign of Antoninus Pius. Now if the *curator cohortis* was really in command of the entire cohort, we should expect to find him with the bulk of the body and not accompanying a detachment of it. It is possible that the officer named in inscription 3 is only a *curator turmae*, the stone-cutter having omitted the word *turmae* because *curator turmae* being a regular position may have been called in general simply *curator*. In the same way we find *beneficiarius* followed by the name of a legion in the genitive, the title of the *legatus* or other person from whom the *beneficium* depended being omitted. It is also possible that the *curator* in this instance is the commander of the detachment of soldiers of the *ala* sent to Mauretania. This usage would, however, be quite exceptional since the regular title for the commander of a *vexillatio* was *praepositus*.¹

So far as our evidence goes the *curator cohortis* or *alae* appears to have been a temporary substitute commander. A consideration of the epigraphic material will show that the character of the command indicated by the expression *praepositus* was quite different.

¹The whole subject of military detachments and their commanders (*praepositi vexillationum*) will be treated in a subsequent paper. Most of the commanders of detachments known to us were centurions.

b. Praepositus.

The inscriptions illustrating the use of this title are as follows: (the numbers are those of Appendix A).

5. . . . (name) *c(enturio) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae)* *praepositus c(o)hor(tis) I Helvetiorum*. 148 A. D. Found at Böckingen in Upper Germany; province of legion, Upper Germany; cohort encamped at Böckingen.

6. . . . (name) *dec(urio) al(ae) I Flaviae praepositus [cohortis I Breucorum]* Found at Pfünz, Rhaetia; province of ala, Rhaetia; cohort encamped at Pfünz in Rhaetia

7. . . . *perfec(tas) ab* (name) *c(enturione) leg(ionis) III Ital(icae) praepos(ito) coh(ortis) I Br(eucorum)* 181 A. D. Found at Böhming, Rhaetia; province of legion, Rhaetia; cohort encamped at Pfünz in Rhaetia.

8. . . . (name) *dec(urio) al(ae) Thr(acum) praepositus co(hortis) II Sardorum* 208 A. D. Found at Hadjar-er-Rum (Altava), Mauretania; cohort encamped at Hadjar-er-Rum; province of ala, Mauretania.

9. . . . (name) *dec(urio) alae Partorum praepositus cohortis II Sardorum Severianae* After 211 A. D. Found at Hadjar-er-Rum (Altava)?, Mauretania; province of ala, Mauretania; cohort encamped at Hadjar-er-Rum.

10. . . . *curante* (name) *p[rae(osito) al(ae) expl(oratorum)] Pomariensium et [cohortis] II] Sard[orum]*. Found at Ain-Khial, Mauretania; corps of *praepositus* not given; ala encamped at Pomarium, Mauretania.

11. . . . (name) *dec(urio) praepositus coh(ortis) II Breucoru[m G]or[di]ane*, 243 A. D. Found

at Suik in Mauretania; corps of *praepositus* not given; cohort encamped at Suik.

12. *dec(urioni) equit(um) p[raeposito] (?) c]oh(ortis) III Alpinae* Found at Salona; corps of decurion not given; cohort encamped at Salona.

13. (name) *c(enturio) leg(ionis) I M(inerviae) pr(aepositus) c(o)ho(rtis) I Belg(arum)* Found at Novae in Dalmatia; province of legion, Pannonia; cohort encamped at Novae.

14. (name) *c(enturio) leg(ionis) [X Fr]ctensis prae[positus] coh(ortis) I Hisp(anorum)* Found at Maryport (Uxellodunum), Britain; province of legion, Syria; cohort encamped at Maryport.¹

We may be justified, I think, in discussing under this heading the inscriptions App. A, 15, mentioning *coh(ors) I Helve(tiorum) sub cura G(aii) V[aleri] Titi c(enturionis)* and App. A, 17: *coh(ors) I Belg(arum) curam agente Fl(avio) Victore c(enturione)*. In both cases the inscriptions state only that legionary centurions were directing the labor of the soldiers of the corps named. But ins. 5 shows that *cohors I Helvetorium*, ins. 13 that *cohors I Belgarum* was for a time, at least, under the command of *centuriones praepositi*. If, as has been supposed (cf. p. 334), we are to infer command by the centurions from the relationship indicated by the formulas *sub cura* and *curam agente* it is reasonable to consider these centurions also as *praepositi* of the cohorts named.

With these additions it is clear that most of these corps were, for a time at least, regularly commanded by centu-

¹ We find other legionary centurions at the same points as some of those in the above list, who may also have been *praepositi cohortium*; cf. C. I. Rh. 1586 (Jahrb. des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande, vol. 83, p. 131, no. 177) at Böckingen and C. I. L. III, 5918.

rics as *praepositi*. This practice would be in analogy with the use of the term *praepositus* in connection with the numeri (p. 377) as well as in cases of *vexillationes* ; for *praepositi* were regular commanders of numeri as well as of detachments, although in the latter instance their command was from the nature of the case temporary.

No commanders of equestrian rank are known in the case of two of the corps: *cohors I Helvetiorum*, appearing in inss. 5 and 15; and *cohors I Belgarum* in inss. 13 and 17.

The only commander of *cohors I Breucorum* of equestrian rank known to us is a tribune (C. I. L. III, 5613) and he is probably later than the *praepositi* of this cohort mentioned in inss. 6 and 7. In the case of *cohors II Sardorum* we find only one certain example of a prefect (C. I. L. VIII, 9831), and that of the third century, as has been observed (p. 4). In the inscription Bull. Corr. Hell. vol. 7 (1883), p. 272 we have *ἐπαρχος σπείρας Σαρδῶν* it being uncertain of which of the two *cohortes Sardorum* the prefect was in command. Two prefects of *cohors II Breucorum* are known; (C. I. L. V. 6995 and IX, 5066). The restoration of ins. 12 is of course not certain. We know two prefects of *cohors III Alpinae*; (C. I. L. III, Diploma XVI) and (C. I. L. IX, 2564). In the case of *cohors I Hispanorum* a comparatively large number of commanders of equestrian rank are known; (C. I. L. VII, 373; 374; 375; 376; 377; 378; 383; 384; 385; 398; and XI, 5632).

We see that four cohorts (*I Helvetiorum*, *I Breucorum*, *II Sardorum*, and *I Belgarum*) were, for a time at least, regularly under the command of *praepositi* and that the evidence does not necessarily preclude the adoption of this explanation in the case of two others (*II Breucorum* and *III Alpinae*). Of *cohors I Hispanorum* alone are many

commanders of equestrian rank known to us. In this last case and perhaps in that of *cohors II Breucorum* and *cohors III Alpinae* the conditions were identical with those with which we have identified the usage of the expression *curator* (cf. pp. 339-342). Distinctions in the use of terms such as these not forming part of the formal titular nomenclature would naturally not be rigidly observed in all cases.

Further light will be thrown upon the nature of the circumstances influencing the choice of commanders of *cohortes I Helvetiorum, I Breucorum, II Sardorum* and *I Belgarum* in connection with the discussion of the numeri (p. 380).

Although all the instances of centurions (cf. Appendix A), who were summoned from a different province (as indicated by the mention of the corps to which they belonged) to assume the command of auxiliary corps, are included in the above *praepositus* inscriptions, viz. ins. 13, 14 and 17, the fact is hardly significant. It is true that in an emergency arrangement as in the case of *curator* we should expect to find the nearest centurion chosen while the deliberate choice of a *praepositus*, a regular commander, might have been made without reference to geographical proximity. Unfortunately the circumstances nullify the force of this evidence. For *cohors I Belgarum* (ins. 13 and 17) was located in Dalmatia where after Vespasian no legions were stationed, thus making a call from another province necessary and *cohors I Hispanorum* (ins. 14) is scarcely to be classed with the *praepositi* at all (cf. p. 345). Further evidence regarding the distinction between *curator* and *praepositus* may be drawn from a circumstance of a different nature. As is known¹ cohorts

¹ Pauly-Wissowa, Real Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft, vol. 1, p. 1227 and vol. 4, p. 235.

and *alae* consisted usually of five hundred, but sometimes of a thousand men. If centurions were regularly placed in command of these bodies as *praepositi* we should not expect to find them in charge of corps of the larger size.¹

In the list of inscriptions mentioning centurions in connection with cohorts and *alae*, Appendix A, we find the following four corps which are known to have contained one thousand men: *ala I Contariorum* (ins. 3),² *cohors I Aelia Dacorum* (ins. 19)³ *cohors II Tungrorum* (ins. 21),⁴ *cohors Hemesenorum* (ins. 24).⁵ In two cases it is uncertain whether the corps contained five hundred or a thousand men; *cohors I Flavia Cilicum* (inss. 1, 18 and 20),⁶ and *cohors I Hispanorum* (ins. 14).⁷

If ins. 14 is excluded from the regular *praepositi*, the list of the latter will include no corps containing a thousand men. The consideration of the size of the corps will

¹ Aside from the evidence furnished by the incongruity between the command of a century and a *cohors miliaria* we may draw the same inference from analogy. For tribunes and *primipilares* were placed in command of *vezillationes* of one thousand men, centurions, so far as known, of not over two hundred; cf. Karbe, *De Centurionibus Romanis*, Berlin, 1880, pp. 18-19; C. I. L. II, 484, X, 5829 and 6657.

² We have inscriptional evidence to prove this: C. I. L. III, 4359 and 4362; *ala I Ulpia Contariorum miliaria C(ivium) R(omanorum)*.

³ The inscriptions name no less than seventeen tribunes of this cohort; C. I. L. VII, 806 ff. It is known that in general cohorts and *alae* of a thousand men were commanded by tribunes, those of five hundred men by prefects; cf. *Real-Encyclopädie*, l. c.

⁴ Cf. C. I. L. VII, 880 ff.

⁵ The inscription itself states this. Two tribunes, moreover, are known; C. I. L. III, 10316 and X, 3847.

⁶ A tribune is known in 118 A. D. C. I. G. 4713 f.; a prefect in 124 A. D. Corp. Pap. Rain. No. 18.

⁷ We find tribunes in C. I. L. VII, 374, 375, 376, and XI, 5632, but also prefects, C. I. L. VII, 373, 378, 384, 385, etc.

be of importance in the attempt to identify the centurions in the following list with *curatores* or *praepositi*.

c. Sub cura, curam agente, etc.

15. . . . *coh(ors) I Helve(tiorum) et Britt(ones) Aure(lienses) sub cura* (name) *c(enturionis) leg(ionis)* Found at Oehringen in Upper Germany; legion of centurion not given; encampment of cohort at Oehringen.¹

16. . . . *coh(ors) I Seq(uanorum) et [Raur(acorum) c]uram ag[ente]* (name) . . . *c(enturione) leg(ionis) XX[II]* 193 A. D. The original location of this stone is unknown, but it is almost certain that it did not come from Miltenberg, the headquarters of the cohort mentioned in it. The province of the legion was Upper Germany.

17. . . . *coh(ors) I Belg(arum)* restores a temple . . . *curam agente* (name) *c(enturione) leg(ionis) I Ad(iutricis)* 173 A. D. Found at Ljubuski, Dalmatia; province of legion, Pannonia; cohort encamped at Ljubuski.²

18. Dedication by *coh(ors) I Fl(avia) Cili-c(um) equit(ata) curam agente T(ito) Avidio Marcellino c(enturione) leg(ionis) II Tr(aianae)* About 155 A. D. Found at Assouan (Syene), Egypt; province of legion, Egypt; cohort stationed at Assouan (Syene).

19. . . . *coh(ors) I Ael(ia) Dacor(um) c(uius) c(uram) a(git) Iul(ius) Marcellinus leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae)* Found at Birdoswald (Amboglanna) on

¹ Compare Appendix B. The inscription Brambach, C. I. Rh. 1554, mentioning a legionary centurion, was found at the same point.

² Two inscriptions, C. I. L. III, 6363—8485, and III, 8493, both mentioning legionary centurions have been found at the same place. Their presence was probably due to official connection with the cohort.

the line of Hadrian's Wall; province of legion, Britain; there is no indication of *centurio* on the stone but the addition of it after the analogy of so many similar inscriptions seems justifiable. The cohort was stationed at Birdoswald.

20. *coh(ors) I Fl(avia) Cilicum) eq(uitata) curante* (name) *c(enturione) leg(ionis) II Tr(aiana) 161 A. D. Found at Assouan (Syene); province of legion, Egypt; cohort encamped at Assouan (Syene).*

21. *coh(ors) I[I] Tungr(orum) ins(tante)* (name) *c(enturione) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) r(ictricis)* Found at Nether Cramond near Edinburgh; province of legion, Britain; cohort encamped at Housesteads (Borcovicium).

22. *coh(ors) IIII Lingonum eq(uitata) cui attendit* (name) *c(enturio) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae)* Found at Wallsend in Britain; legion encamped in Britain; cohort stationed at Wallsend.

23. *coh(ors) VI Nerviorum* (name) *c(enturio) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) r(ictricis)* Found at Rough Castle on the line of the Wall of Pius; province of legion, Britain; cohort encamped at Virosidum in Britain.

The inscriptions offer the following formulas: *sub cura* no. 15; *curam agente* 16, 17 and 18; *curam agit* 19; *curante* 20; *instante* 21; *cui attendit* 22. It has been generally (p. 334) assumed that these inscriptions imply the command by the centurion of the corps whose work he directs. Müller (op. cit. p. 492) cites the inscription Brambach, C. I. Rh. 1554 as a typical illustration of the relation existing in these cases. The conclusion to be drawn from the evidence at hand is not so simple. In some instances, it is true, we have the same state of affairs

as that indicated by the expression *curator* or *praepositus*. But in other cases we shall see that the presence of a centurion directing the labor of an auxiliary corps does not imply that he was really in command of the body in question.

Thus inss. 15 and 17 have been grouped with the *praepositi* (cf. p. 344).

In inss. 18, 20 and 22 we probably have *curatores*. For both inss. 18 and 20 mention the same cohort as ins. 1, *cohors I Flavia Cilicum*. They are, perhaps, to be explained by supposing a repetition of the circumstances that gave rise to the appointment of a *curator* in the case of ins. 1.

In ins. 19 *cohors I Aelia Dacorum* was a *cohors miliaria*. We can scarcely suppose, therefore, that the centurion in this instance was a *praepositus* (cf. p. 347, note 3). Moreover, as we have seen (p. 335) seventeen tribunes of the corps are known and a *praepositus* was generally not an exceptional commander. We have in this case possibly a curator, possibly only a centurion without any definite command, detailed to direct the labor of the soldiers of the cohort (cf. pp. 354 ff.).

There remain the three inss. 16, 21 and 23, which were found at a considerable distance from the regular camps of the corps mentioned in them. In all the three cases the corps named occupied frontier posts; *I Sequanorum et Rauracorum* (ins. 16) at Miltenberg, *cohors II Tungrorum* (ins. 21) at Housesteads (Borcovicium) and *cohors VI Nerviorum* (ins. 23) at Virosidum. If the centurions named in these three inscriptions were actually in command of the three cohorts we should expect them to be accompanied by the bulk of the several corps.¹ But

¹In 21 the centurion would only be *curator* since the corps was a *cohors miliaria* (cf. p. 347).

boundary fortresses would only be deserted by their garrisons in case of important military expeditions. In the case of ins. 16 at least, a military expedition cannot be assumed, for the stone was found in the Odenwald at some distance within the line of boundary defences.¹ We can scarcely assume in this instance, at least, that the cohort as a whole with its commander was present at the point where the inscription was erected.

A solution of our difficulty will be suggested by a comparison with another inscription erected under similar circumstances, *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, vol. 3 (1884), *Korr. Blatt*. 91:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) vexil(latio) coh(ortis) I
Seq(uanorum) et Raur(acorum) eq(uitatae) sub cur (a)
Anton(i) Natal[i]s c(enturionis) leg(ionis) XXII
P(rimigeniae) p(iae) f(idelis) ob burg(um) explic(itum)
v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).

To appreciate the evidence offered by this inscription a general notion of the topography of the German *limes* or system of boundary defences is requisite. The *limes* in the province of Upper Germany consisted of a double line protected by fortresses (*castella*) and watch-towers (*burgi*). The outer line extended in a generally straight line in a direction a little east of south from the Main near Miltenberg to Lorch where it connected with the *limes* of Rhaetia. North of Miltenberg the Main with *castella* situated at convenient intervals formed the military boundary. The inner line of defence commenced at the Main at a point northwest of Miltenberg and extended to the Neckar in a generally southern direction. From there the Neckar, running in general in a course

¹The Odenwald lies south of Darmstadt and was covered by the inner line of defences, the so-called Mümlinglinie, which extended from the Main to the Neckar; cf. p. 393.

parallel to the outer line of the *limes*, formed the inner line of defence.

The inscription cited above was found in a tower of observation (*burgus*), about a mile northwest of the nearest *castellum* at Schlossau on the inner line of the *limes* between the Main and the Neckar. The inscription is parallel with ins. 16 in the list. Both mention *cohors I Sequanorum et Rauracorum*. In both instances legionary centurions are directing the labor of the soldiers of the auxiliary corps. Both inscriptions were found at a distance from the camp and headquarters of the corps at Miltenberg.¹ But in the case of the inscription published in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* the fact that it was not found at the headquarters of the cohort presents no difficulties, for the troops making the dedication are only a detachment (*vezillatio*) of the cohort. The commander of a detachment was of course not commander of the corps of which the detachment was a part.

If we may assume that detachments only were present at the erection of inss. 16, 21 and 23, these present no further difficulty. But in none of these inscriptions is *vezillatio* mentioned. This, however, need not trouble us, for it was quite common for detachments to make dedications in the name of the corps of which they formed only a part. The citation of a few examples will suffice to prove this.

The inscription in Brambach, C. I. Rh. 660 is a dedication to Hercules at Brohl, three legions being named as participating. But a glance at the other inscriptions found at this point will show that only *vezillationes* or

¹ Ins. 16 (*Jahrb. d. Ver. v. Altertumsfr. im Rheinlande*, vol. 53-54, p. 154) appears on a stone used in the construction of the cathedral in Frankfurt. It probably was brought from the Odenwald near Heddernheim.

detachments of the legions were employed there in the quarries.

The dedications at Ostia in the barracks of the *vigiles* were nominally made by all seven *cohortes vigilum* although we know that only detachments of them were present there at one time; cf. Ephem. Epig. vol. 7 (1892), 1200, 1201, 1203 and 1211.

The inscriptions C. I. L. VII, 660, 661, 662 and 663 mention the labor of *legio II Augusta* on Hadrian's Wall at or near Housesteads (Borcovicium). These inscriptions have been shown to be contemporaneous with the original construction of the wall; cf. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, Feb. 11th, 1892. The legion must have been distributed at many points to carry on the construction simultaneously. There would have been no reason for the presence of the entire legion at one place. In fact there is epigraphic evidence for the presence of the legion at Littlechesters (Vindolana) at the same time. Detachments were probably distributed along the course of the wall for a long distance; cf. C. I. L. VII, 713.

C. I. L. VIII, 6 records the erection of a castle in a remote part of the province of Africa by *leg(io) III Aug(usta) p(ia) v(index)*.

The presence of the whole legion at that distant point would have been impossible. The inscription is not earlier than 198 A. D. as the legion had already received the epithet *vindex*. But it is known that the legion was in the province of Numidia at least from the time of Trajan.

We may assume, then, that in inss. 16, 21 and 23 we are dealing with detachments of the corps mentioned.¹ If

¹ A possible objection to the argument regarding these inscriptions will be considered in Appendix C.

this is true the centurions mentioned are not *praepositi* (or *curatores*) *cohortium* but *praepositi vexillationum*, and are not to be included in our list of centurions in command of auxiliary corps.

We have thus far assumed that the centurions mentioned in inss. 16, 21 and 23 were in actual command of the soldiers present with them. But it has been shown (cf. pp. 334 f.) that this is not necessarily to be inferred from the formulas *curam agente, sub cura, etc.*¹ The consideration of further examples will explain the relation that might have existed in such cases.

Let us notice in this connection C. I. L. III, 25: *Annius Rufus c(enturio) leg(ionis) XV Apollinaris praepositus ab optimo imp(eratore) Traiano operi marmorum monti Claudiano v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) a(nima)*. This inscription, as I shall show, throws light on the position of centurions detailed for the direction of public works and indirectly on the nature of the relationship indicated by formulas like *curam agente*. As Henzen observed,² the centurion could not have been accompanied by soldiers of his own legion. For the services of Egyptian soldiers would certainly have been employed instead of transporting men from Cappadocia where *legio XV Apollinaris* was stationed at that time. But the Egyptian soldiers employed in these quarries were not under the command of this or any other centurion. Tribunes seem to have been placed over the detachments or corps quartered at this point. We find a tribune of *cohors I Flavia Cilicum*, C. I. G. 4713 f., 118 A. D.; a legionary tribune, C. I. G. 4713 d; another tribune, C. I. G. 4713 b. The centurion, then, directed the work of the soldiers in the quarries because he possessed the requisite technical skill.

¹ This applies also to inss. 19 and 22 (pp. 346-350).

² *Annal. d. Inst. Arch.* vol. 15 (1843), p. 344.

He was **not** their titular commander, yet their labor might be said to have **been** performed *curam agente centurione*.

Other examples of the **same** procedure are furnished by the construction of Hadrian's **Wall** in Britain. As is well known the stone work on this line of fortifications was performed by the legionaries under the **supervision** of their centurions. The legionaries operated the stone quarries also; cf. C. I. L. VII, 912.¹ The so-called century-stones, referring only to the legions, indicate the extent of work of each century and thus show that the labor of the soldiers was performed under the immediate oversight of their centurions. As the centurions possessed the necessary technical skill they were naturally detailed to superintend building operations, quarries, etc. in various parts of the Empire. I have shown by C. I. L. III, 25 that centurions might direct the manual labor of soldiers who were not really under their command. In fact centurions were detached freely from their own corps and sent to places where their skill was required.²

Müller (op. cit. p. 492) cites the inscription Brambach, C. I. Rh. 1554 as illustrating the nature of the relation indicated by formulas such as those under discussion.³ He says that Vaterculus was here provisional commander of the century during a temporary disability on the part of its regular centurion. But under such circumstances

¹ The auxiliary troops were certainly employed in some capacity in the building of the Wall although not appearing in the inscriptions referring to it. They may have been the stone-haulers, this being considered a more arduous or less honorable employment than that as masons.

² Cf. C. I. L. III, 12286; Bull. Corr. Heil. vol. 13 (1889), p. 520; Marquardt, Röm. Staatsverwaltung, vol. 2, p. 265.

³ *ped(atura) c(enturiae) Iul(II) Silvani sub cura Vaterculi Proculi c(enturionis) legio(nis) VIII Aug(ustae) opus per(fecit)*.

it was customary for the *optio* to assume the command.¹ Vaterculus may have been commander of the *castellum* at Oehringen as *praepositus cohortis I Helvetiorum* or he may have been delegated to take charge of the building or repair of the fortifications as having special aptitude for duties of this sort.

The centurions mentioned in the inscription published in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* (vol. 3 (1884), *Korr. Blatt.* 91) as well as 16, 21 and 23 and other inscriptions in the list (*sub cura, curam agente, etc.*) may have been acting as overseers or master-masons without being actually commanders of the soldiers present, either as *praepositi vexillationum* or *praepositi* or *curatores* of entire corps.

In the case of the inscription found at the *burgus* near Schlossau we have assumed that the centurion under whose care the work was performed was commander of a *vexillatio* of *cohors I Sequanorum et Rauracorum*. In this case the centurion would have accompanied the detachment from Miltenberg, the camp and headquarters of the corps.² But it is reasonable to suppose that a watch-tower serving as an outpost to the *castellum* at Schlossau only a mile distant would have been constructed under the direction of the centurion who commanded the garrison at that point and not by one summoned from a distance. The centurion commanding the post at Schlossau would have been better informed regarding the local conditions. His troops, moreover, would occupy the watch-tower when it was completed.³

¹Cf. Vegetius, 2, 7 and Modestus, 6.

²He would in that case have probably been the legionary centurion regularly present as second in command to the prefect of the cohort (cf. p. 359 ff.).

³Schlossau was garrisoned by a numerus or detachment of a numerus called *Brittones Triputienses* under the command of a cen-

Likewise, in the case of inss. 21 and 23 we may suppose that detachments were sent from points on Hadrian's Wall to positions on the line of the Wall of Pius and made dedications there upon the successful completion of works which they had performed under the direction of local commanders of garrisons.

There remains the inscription App. A, 24 containing the term *magister* applied to a decurion: *dec(urio) ala(e) firma(e) katafractaria(e) ex numero Hosroenorum mag(ister) coh(ortis) (miliariae) Hemes(enorum)* The inscription was found at Duna-Pentele in Lower Pannonia. The decurion was detailed from a corps stationed in another province. The word *magister* has been supposed to indicate command of the cohort by the decurion. But the inscription indicates that the *cohors Hemesenorum* was one of a thousand men.¹ The *magister* was probably a drill-master like the *exercitatores* of the *equites singulares Augusti*. The cohort to which he was assigned was one² containing both infantry and cavalry,³ which explains why a decurion was delegated to it as drill-master. The title *magister* appears in an African inscription (Cagnat, L'Année Épigraphique, Revue Archéologique, vol. 29 (1896), p. 397, no. 89) where it refers to a soldier delegated to take charge of provincial militia.

turion of *legio XXII primigenia*; cf. Brambach, C. I. Rh. 1732 and 1733 and Jahrb. d. Ver. v. Altertumsfr. im Rheinlande, vol. 52, p. 78 (Appendix A, 38). The detachment was probably summoned from Miltenberg to build the watch-tower because the *Brittones* in Schlossau were still too barbarous to be employed as masons; cf. Stappers, Musée Belge, Septième Année (1903), p. 225.

¹ Two tribunes, moreover, are known: C. I. L. III, 10316 and X, 3847.

² C. I. L. III, 3328 — 10303, 3331.

d. ORIGIN OF THE TEMPORARY COMMAND OF AUXILIARY CORPS BY CENTURIONS.

Having in mind the character of the command of auxiliary corps by legionary centurions and the meaning of the expressions which have been supposed to indicate this command, we may now attempt to ascertain how, in some cases at least, this relationship may have arisen.

As has been shown, our evidence seems to indicate that centurions (probably called *curatores*; cf. pp. 339 ff.) were called upon to assume the command of auxiliary corps in case of the absence or disability of the regular commanders. We might have expected to find *primipilares* assuming the duties of absent or indisposed commanders. Those of the *primipilares* (= *ex-primipili*) who did not withdraw from the regular service, if not admitted immediately to the regular equestrian career, formed a class of officers ranking between the centurions and officers of equestrian rank. They were assigned to extraordinary or temporary commands wherever necessity or convenience directed.¹ In one instance the services of a *primipilaris* seem to have been utilized under these circumstances. In C. I. L. V, 7007 we have the dedication of two statues in honor of a certain C. Valerius Clemens, a *primipilaris*, by the decurions of an *ala*, which he had commanded in the Jewish war of Vespasian and Titus. The appointment as *curator* seems to have been regulated by the conditions prevailing in each individual case. It was as much a question of the fitness as of the rank of the one so nominated.²

¹ Compare Madvig, *Die Römische Officiere*, *Kleine phil. Schriften*, p. 533 ff.; Karbe, *De Centurionibus Romanorum*, Berlin, 1880; J. Schmidt, *Die Rangklasse der Primipilaren*, *Hermes*, vol. 21 (1886), p. 590 ff.

² In C. I. L. III, 14147² we find a *curator* of equestrian rank.

If in general centurions were appointed to assume temporarily the duties of commander, it must have been because in each case the circumstances were such that a centurion was the nearest available officer conversant with the nature of the charge. If, then, we find that legionary centurions were often present in the camps of the auxiliary corps it will follow naturally that the command in case of a temporary vacancy would devolve upon them. For a legionary centurion stationed in the camp of an auxiliary corps would be second in command of the position, since he would be higher in rank than the auxiliary centurions and decurions.

Let us consider, for a moment, the circumstances involved in the location and command of the auxiliary troops. The *castella* along the boundaries of the Empire were garrisoned mainly by auxiliary corps. The legions, except where great rivers formed the actual boundary, were encamped at some distance from the *limes* as at York, Mayence and Strasbourg. The officer in command of a boundary fortress was regularly the prefect of the auxiliary corps which occupied it, the *castella* being usually constructed with reference to a single cohort or *ala*; cf. von Cohausen, *Der Römische Limes in Deutschland*, p. 337 ff. In many of these *castella* we find inscriptions indicating the presence of legionary centurions. The fact is striking, for the majority of all inscriptions indicating the presence of legionary centurions in the provinces outside the camps of their legions are found in fortresses garrisoned by auxiliary corps. We may consider, briefly, the instances of this phenomenon. All inscriptions probably contemporaneous with the construction of the several *castella* must be omitted, particularly those along the boundary fortifications in England of the time of Hadrian. The presence of legionary centurions

at the time of the construction of a fortification would indicate nothing regarding the command or nature of the garrison that was to occupy it. For we have had occasion to observe that legionary centurions were often summoned from some distance merely to superintend the erection of a fortification; cf. p. 355. The inscriptions are classified by provinces.

I. Britain.

1. Benwell (Condercum). C. I. L. VII, 503, 504: a. A votive offering to the *deus Antenociticus* by Aelius Vibius *c(enturio) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) v(ictricis)*

b. A similar dedication to the same divinity by Tineius Longus *in pr(a)efectura equitu[m] lato claro exorn[a]tus et q(uaestor) d(esignatus)*.¹ The juxtaposition of these two dedications is significant. The second is a thank-offering made by the prefect of an ala upon the successful termination of the year of his command. A similar motive evidently prompted the erection of the first. The centurion had been stationed at this point during a specified period of time upon the completion of which he rendered the vow made at the beginning.²

C. I. L. VII, 506. The rendering of a vow to Doli-chenus in behalf of Antoninus Pius by a centurion of *legio II Augusta*. Similar is the fragment C. I. L. VII, 514 which cannot be dated. The centurion belonged to the *legio XX Valeria victrix*. Condercum, on the line of

¹ The expression *optimorum mazimorumque imperatorum* referring to Marcus and Verus (cf. C. I. L. II, 1180) in the second inscription fixes approximately the date.

² Compare this with the dedications made at the completion of their sojourn at a given place by the *beneficarii consulares*, who were assigned to the auxiliary troops for administrative purposes; C. I. L. III, 3949; VII, 996; VIII, 17626, 17628, 17634; Brambach, C. I. Rh. 1575; von Domaszewski, op. cit. p. 97.

Hadrian's Wall, was the camp of *ala I Hispanorum*. C. I. L. VII, 510 offers evidence of a prefect here.

2. Housesteads (*Borcovicium*). C. I. L. VII, 646. A centurion (legion not given) renders a vow to Mithras in the consulship of Gallus and Volusianus, 252 A. D. *Borcovicium* was the headquarters of *cohors I Tungrorum miliaria*. In this case, of course, the man may have been centurion of the auxiliary corps itself.

3. Littlechesters (*Vindolana*). C. I. L. VII, 702. Dedication by a centurion of *legio VI victrix*. The *cohors IIII Gallorum* was encamped here. This inscription cannot be dated but the dedication to Fortuna makes it probable that the centurion was regularly stationed at this point; cf. Jahrb. d. Ver. v. Altertumsfr. im Rheinlande, vol. 60, p. 52.

4. Greatchester (*Aesica*). C. I. L. VII, 740. A centurion of *legio VI victrix* erects a sepulchral stone. The orthography and lack of praenomen and tribe indicate the third century. *Cohors II Asturum* was stationed at this point, the location of a fortress on the line of the Wall of Hadrian.

5. Corvoran (*Magnae*). C. I. L. VII, 749. A centurion of *legio II Augusta* dedicates to Fortuna. The lack of praenomen and omission of the tribal indication in the name of the centurion point to the third century. This station on the Wall was garrisoned by *cohors I Hamiorum*.

6. Ephem. Epig. vol. 3 (1877), p. 137, no. 113. *De[o] Sancto Cocidi(o) Annius Victor centur(io) legion[is]* The last line is illegible. The stone was found at Bewcastle north of the Wall. Birdoswald (*Amboglanna*) was the nearest *castellum* on the line of the Wall. The presence of a cohort at Bewcastle may be inferred, perhaps, from a dedication made by a tribune

at that point: C. I. L. VII, 974. It is possible, however, that Bewcastle was merely an outpost of Amboglanna and occupied by a detachment of *cohors I Aelia Dacorum* from there.

7. Manchester. C. I. L. VII, 211. A dedication to Fortuna by a centurion of *legio VI Victrix*. Manchester was probably the camp of *cohors I Frisiavonum*; cf. C. I. L. VII, 213, 214 and Ephem. Epig. vol. 4 (1881), 674.

8. Bowes. C. I. L. VII, 281. The inscription is fragmentary. Some building is restored under the direction (*sub cura*) of a centurion of *legio VI Victrix*. Bowes was the headquarters of *cohors I Thracum*; C. I. L. VII, 273, 274 and Ephem. Epig. vol. 7 (1892), 941.

9. Whitley Castle. C. I. L. VII, 308. The inscription is a dedication to Hercules by a centurion of *legio VI Victrix*. Alio appears to have been the camp of *cohors III Nerviorum civium Romanorum*; cf. Notitia Dignitatum, p. 212 (ed. Seeck), occ. XL, 53. As several inscriptions at Whitley Castle mention the presence of this cohort it is supposed that the site corresponds with that of ancient Alio.

II. Germany.

1. Ems. Jahrb. d. Ver. v. Altertumsfr. im Rheinlande, vol. 75, p. 207; cf. Westdeutsche Zeitschrift, vol. 2 (1883), Korr. Blatt. no. 195; the rendering of a vow to Fortuna by a centurion of *legio VIII Augusta*. We have no notice of an auxiliary corps at Ems but the position must have been the site of a *castellum* on the *limes*.

2. Wiesbaden. Brambach, C. I. Rh. 1529. A legionary centurion (*centurio leg(ionis) VII[I]*) dedicates to Apollo. *Cohors II Raetorum* was stationed at Wiesbaden as the inscriptions show.

3. Seligenstadt. Brambach, C. I. Rh. 1406; cf. Jahrb. d. Ver. v. Altertumsfr. im Rheinlande, vol. 76, p. 89

. . . . *c(enturio) leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae p(iae) f(idelis) aram et tabulam pro se et suis posuit Cilone et Libone co(n)s(ulbus)* 204 A. D. Seligenstadt was undoubtedly the encampment of some cohort, being a *castellum* on the *limes*. Perhaps *cohors I civium Romanorum* was for a time stationed here; cf. Brambach, C. I. Rh. 1407.

4. Miltenberg. Jahrb. d. Ver. v. Altertumsfr. im Rheinlande, vol. 60, p. 52. *Fortunae sacrum G(aius) Valer(ius) Quirina Titus c(enturio) leg(ionis) ex corniculario co(n)s(ularis)*. Miltenberg was the encampment of *cohors I Sequanorum et Rauracorum*. The centurion here given may of course have been a *praepositus numeri* like the one mentioned in Brambach, C. I. Rh. 1739; cf. App. A, 35. The essential fact remains the same, a centurion stationed in the headquarters of an auxiliary cohort.

5. Aschaffenburg. The condition of affairs here is similar to that at Miltenberg except that we do not know the name of the auxiliary corps forming the garrison. Besides the centurion commanding the *numerus Brittonum et exploratorum* stationed here, Brambach, C. I. Rh. 1751 (cf. 1753, 1754 and 1755), we find inscriptions indicating the presence of other centurions; Brambach, C. I. Rh. 1752 and 1756.

III. Rhaetia.

1. Abusina. C. I. L. III, 5937. *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Statori Fl(avius) Vetulenus c(enturio) leg(ionis) III Ital(icae) reversus ab expedit(ione) Burica ex voto posuit*. The date of this expedition cannot be ascertained. The *cohors III Brittanorum* was in garrison at this point; cf. Notitia Dignitatum, p. 200 (ed. Seeck), occ. XXXV, 25. We have a dedication by a prefect of this corps made in 211 A. D., C. I. L. III, 5935, at the same place. It is significant that although there is no evidence leading us to suppose that legionaries were

ever stationed at this point the legionary centurion returned here and rendered a vow for the successful issue of the expedition just as though this were his regular place of sojourn.

2. Lauingen. C. I. L. III, 5876. A centurion of *legio III Italica* renders a vow to Apollo. This point was probably occupied by an auxiliary corps. In C. I. L. III, 5880 a prefect of *cohors III Thracum civium Romanorum* dedicated a tomb. There were two cohorts of this name in Rhaetia, but our epigraphic evidence is not sufficient to establish their headquarters with certainty.

IV. Dacia.

1. Veczel. C. I. L. III, 1354. Dedication by a centurion of *legio XIII Gemina*. This place was the encampment at different times of several auxiliary corps. (Compare C. I. L. III, p. 220 and C. I. L. III, Supp. p. 1402). The presence of bricks with the stamp of the legion mentioned in the inscription indicates possibly, that there was a *vexillatio* of the legion stationed here.

2. Deva. C. I. L. III, 7858. A centurion of *legio XIII Gemina* dedicates. Deva was a little to the west of Veczel and belonged probably to the same station.

V. Cappadocia.

1. Ancyra. C. I. L. III, 242. A centurion of *legio XV Apollinaris* dedicates. Ancyra was probably the headquarters of *cohors II Hispanorum*; cf. C. I. L. III, 6760 and IX, 2649.

VI. Africa (Numidia).

1. Bir Umm Ali. C. I. L. VIII, 17591. A centurion of *legio III Augusta* erects an inscription to the memory of his wife. This point was garrisoned by *cohors I Chalcidenorum equitata*.

The inscriptions show that it was the policy of the Empire to have in each *castellum*, as far as possible, an officer of equestrian rank and a legionary centurion. Our literary sources also offer some passages which indicate the presence together of prefect and centurion in the camps of the auxiliary troops. A striking example is found in Tacitus (Ann. 12, 45 and 46) in connection with the events of 51 A. D. in the East. In the years 42-44 A. D. Mithridates with the help of Roman troops had occupied the throne of Armenia. Later an opponent appeared in the person of Radamistus, son of Pharasmanes king of Iberia. Radamistus was nephew of Mithridates and had received his daughter in marriage. At the court of his father-in-law Radamistus won the favor of the leading nobles of the realm, thus forming a party favorable to his own interests. Suddenly he invaded Armenia and forced Mithridates to take refuge in the castle Gorneae which was occupied by Roman troops; cf. Schiller, *Geschichte der röm. Kaiserzeit*, vol. 1, p. 325. The words of the passage in Tacitus are: *Castellum Gorneas, tutum loco ac praesidio militum, quis Caelius Pollio praefectus, centurio Casperius praeerat*. The command of this border fortress was vested in a prefect of auxiliaries and a legionary centurion. For we must suppose that Caelius was a legionary centurion because one of the auxiliary centurions would not have been thus singled out and mentioned as sharing in the command. The following events prove the wisdom of associating legionary centurions with officers of equestrian rank in the command of border fortresses. For after attacking the place to no purpose Radamistus attempted to bribe the prefect to withdraw his protection from Mithridates. The integrity of the centurion, who protested vigorously against the baseness of the proposed step, alone prevented the

fulfillment of the project. But he was sent away on the pretext of an embassy to Pharasmanes. Then Tacitus (Ann. XII, 46) says: *Digressu centurionis velut custode exsolutus praefectus hortari Mithridaten ad sancendum foedus Augetus flagitii merces et Pollio occulta corruptione impellit milites ut pacem flagitarent seque praesidium omissuras minitarentur. Qua necessitate Mithridates diem locumque foederi accepit castelloque egreditur.*

Another example of the presence of a legionary centurion in the camp of an auxiliary corps is found in connection with the mutiny of the *cohors Usiporum* in Britain in 79 A. D. Tacitus, Agricola 28 (cf. Hermes, vol. 16 (1881), p. 545): *Eadem aestate cohors Usiporum per Germanias conscripta et in Britanniam transmissa magnum et memorabile facinus ausa est. occiso centurione et militibus qui ad tradendam disciplinam inmixti manipulis exemplum et rectores habebantur.* Dio Cassius, 66, 20 says the soldiers killed their tribune and centurions. Dio may have read in his source that the soldiers killed their officers and thought of the tribune and centurions of the corps itself.

A dedication of the year 162 A. D. (Ephem. Epig. vol. 5 (1884), p. 552, no. 1276 later appearing in vol. 7 (1892), no. 365; cf. Mommsen, Bull. des Antiquites Africaines, 1884, p. 281 ff.) gives the names of all the centurions of *legio III Augusta* in the order of the cohorts. We find sixty-three names although at that time only fifty-nine were required for the legion; cf. Mommsen, Ephem. Epig. vol. 4 (1881), pp. 226-245 and Cagnat, L'armée Romaine de l'Afrique, pp. 194-197. The four additional centurions may have been employed in the camps of some of the auxiliary corps in the province in the manner which we have been discussing.

II. NUMERI.

The epigraphic evidence for the command of numeri by centurions is as follows:¹

25. *Burgus speculatorum* constructed *curam agente* (name) *c(enturione) legionis III Aug(ustae) Ant(oniniana) prae(posito) n(umeri) H(erculis) Ant(oniniani)* 212-217 A. D. The inscription was found at *Aquae Herculis* some distance to the south of El Kantara, where the numerus was stationed. The former was evidently an outpost under the command of the *praepositus* at El Kantara, for the *numerus Herculis* was undoubtedly the same as the *numerus Palmyrenorum* (cf. Cagnat, *L'Armée Romaine*, p. 260).

26. Dedication to Hercules *curante* . . . (name) *prae[p]o(sito) n(umeri) Herculis [i]ncolae*. 212-217 A. D. Found at El Kantara (*Calceus Herculis*). The two inscriptions, 25 and 26, indicate the activity of the same *praepositus*, the second in the headquarters of the numerus, the first in the territory directly dependent upon the headquarters.

27, 28 and 29, all found at El Kantara, offer only the names of the centurions, all of *legio III Augusta*. These were undoubtedly *praepositi* of the numerus stationed at that point. See Cagnat, *L'Armée Romaine de l'Afrique*, p. 260, note.

30. Fragment found at El Kantara. See Appendix A.

31. Dedication to Mercury by (name) *c(enturio) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) praepositus n(umeri) Palmyr[e]norum* Found at El Kantara.

¹ As in the previous portion of the paper the numbers correspond with those in Appendix A where the full text of the inscriptions is given.

32. Dedication to Neptune by (name)
c(enturio) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) praepo(situs)
n(umeri) Pal(myrenorum). Found at El Kantara.

33. Dedication to the *numen aquarum* by (name)
dec(urio) al(ae) ex(ploratorum) praep(ositus) num(eri)
Ambov 242 A. D. Found at Aquae Sirenses, Mau-
 retania. Regarding the *ala exploratorum* see Cagnat, op.
 cit. p. 307. This being the only inscription giving the
 numerus it is impossible to determine its headquarters.
 Cagnat (op. cit. p. 306) suggests the following reading:
dec(urio) al(ae) ex praep(osito) numeri.

34. Dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus by
 (name) *c(enturio) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae)*
praeposit(us) Brit(tonum) et expl(oratorum). Found at
 Welzheim, Upper Germany, which was probably the head-
 quarters of the corps.

35. Dedication to Mercury by (name)
c(enturio) leg(ionis) p[raeposi]tus n[um(eri)] [s(ingu-)
larium)] Open(sium) 212 A. D. Found at Mil-
 tenberg which was probably the headquarters of the corps.

36. Dedication [pr]o salute *n(umeri)*
eq(uitum)Sar[mat(arum)] Bremetenn(acensium?) [G]or-
diani (name) *c(enturio) leg(ionis) VI Vic(tricis)*
 Found at Coccium, Britain. The headquarters
 of the numerus was about twenty miles north of that
 place.

37. *n(umerus) Britton(um) Triputien(sium)*
sub cura (name) *c(enturionis) leg(ionis)*
XXII Pr(imigeniae). Found at Amorbach. It is im-
 possible to determine the headquarters of this numerus as
 inscriptions mentioning it have been found at Schlossau,
 Würzburg, Eulbach, Hesselbach and Altstadt besides
 Amorbach; cf. Westdeutsche Zeitschrift, vol. 8 (1889)
 Korr. Blatt. no. 82, p. 161. All these places except Altstadt

are situated on the inner line of the fortifications in Upper Germany, the so-called *Münblinglinie*; cf. p. 22.

38. . . . *Brittones Trip(utienses) qui sunt sub cura T(iti) Mani T(iti) f(ili) Pollia Magni Senope c(enturionis) leg(ionis) XXII Primigeniae*. Found at Schlossau.

39. . . . *n(umerus) Brit(tonum) et explorat(orum) Nemaning . . . c(uram) agent(e) . . . (name) . . . c(enturione) leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae) . . . 178 A. D.* Found at Aschaffenburg. Inscriptional evidence insufficient to fix the headquarters of the corps.

40. Bath restored by the . . . *expl(oratores) Stu. . . et Brit(tones) gentiles officiales Britt(onum) e(t) deditic(iorum) Alexandrianorum . . . cura agente . . . (name) . . . c(enturione) leg(ionis) XXII P(rimigeniae) . . . 232 A. D.* Found at Alteburg near Walldüren.

41. . . . *c(enturio) coh(ortis) III Thra[c]um Syr(orum) . . . [t]ranslatu[s] . . . [i]n coh(ortem) I Ch(a)lcidenor(um) iusso [i]mp(eratoris) curam [e]git Palmyr(enorum) [s]agittariorum . . . ann(is) X . . .* Found at El Kantara, headquarters of the corps.

42. *Pedatura n(umeri) Treverorum p(edes) LXXXXVI sub cur(a) agente Crescentino Resbecto c(enturione) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae)*. Found at Hoheburg in Upper Germany. This is the only inscription mentioning the numerus. Its headquarters cannot, therefore, be accurately determined.

43. (= no. 15) . . . *Britt(ones) Aure(lienses) sub cura . . . (name) c(enturionis) leg(ionis) . . .* Time of Septimius Severus. Found at Oehringen, Upper Germany, which was the headquarters of the corps.

The nature of the command of numeri by centurions, and especially the question regarding the chronological distinction between centurions and officers of equestrian rank,

can only be intelligently discussed after taking into account both the general characteristics of the numeri and the rank and manner of appointment of all their commanders.¹

In the broadest sense of the word numerus denoted any corps under the command of a single officer. But during the first three centuries of the Empire the term was rarely applied in this general sense. A narrower technical meaning developed, denoting those corps which being neither *alae* nor cohorts had no special designation. In this way the word was applied as an expression with only a negative significance. A numerus might consist of infantry or cavalry, perhaps both. But a cavalry division of this kind was usually called a *vexillatio* in the second century, sometimes a *cuneus* in the third.²

A numerus was distinguished from an *ala* or cohort by the fact that it was armed and organized not on a Roman model but in accordance with the customs of some particular nation included in the Roman Empire. In consequence of this each numerus was recruited from the locality where it was originally enrolled, not from that in which it was encamped. Yet the numeri were often named from the locality where they were stationed, a custom common in the case of the *exploratores*.³ This practice often gave rise to a double designation, as the name indicating the region of the origin of the numerus was the common one.

¹ The text gives in the main the results of Mommsen's investigations as published in the *Hermes*, vol. 19 (1884), p. 219 ff. (cf. Stappers, *Les Milices locales de l'Empire Romain*, Musée Belge, Septième Année (1903), pp. 198-246 and 301-334).

² *Vexillatio* in this sense is of course, to be distinguished from the application of the same term to denote a detachment.

³ The location of the *exploratores* had a special significance because they were appointed to watch the movements of particular barbarous tribes.

The distinction in meaning between the expressions provincial militia and *numerus* must be kept clearly in mind.¹ The first term indicates a distinction based upon the conditions of service, the second relates to the organization and manner of warfare. There were *numeri* both in the standing army and provincial militia. It has been generally assumed that all the corps of provincial militia were organized as *numeri*.

The provincial militia was not constantly under arms. While actually in service it was paid by the nations among which it was enrolled; cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* 1, 67. The corps of provincial militia were sometimes commanded by *evocati*, sometimes by veterans of the regular army,² or *principales*. The commanders were doubtless assigned by the governor of the province.³

The regular *numeri*, on the other hand, formed an integral part of the standing army and were constantly under arms and available for service in any part of the Empire. They were paid by the state. In general the *numeri* of the regular army originated as provincial militia; cf. Hermes, vol. 22 (1887), p. 555. They retained their national character and continued to be recruited from the locality of their origin. Some at least retained this further characteristic of the provincial militia that their commander received his appointment from the provincial governor and that he was a soldier of long experience instead of an officer of equestrian rank. He

¹Regarding the so-called provincial militia see Cagnat, *De Provincialibus et Municipalibus Militibus Romanorum*; Mommsen, Hermes, vol. 22 (1887), p. 548 ff.; Jung, *Wiener Studien*, vol. 11, p. 154 ff.

²Hermes, vol. 22 (1887), pp. 547, 554; C. I. L. XIII, 1041 and XIV, 2954.

³Hermes, op. cit. p. 554; von Domaszewski, op. cit. pp. 31 and 32.

was now, however, a *centurio praepositus*,¹ instead of an *evocatus* or *principalis* as in the provincial militia.

The number of men in a *numerus* seems not to have been fixed but to have varied between 300 and 900 (cf. Mommsen, *Hermes*, vol. 19 (1884), p. 228).

The following list of all inscriptions naming commanders of *numeri* other than the centurions and decurions already given forms with the latter a complete collection of the epigraphic evidence for the command of these corps.²

1. C. I. L. II, 1180 *praef(ecto) coh(ortis) III Gallor(um) praeposito numeri Syror(um) sagittario-r(um)* This is the earliest inscription in which *numerus* appears in the special sense just defined; cf. *Hermes*, vol. 19 (1884), p. 229, note. The stone was erected under Marcus and Verus, 161-169 A. D.

2. C. I. L. VIII, 9358 *praef(ecto) coh(ortis) I Augustae Bracarum praeposito n(umeri) Illyricorum tribuno coh(ortis) Ael(iae) expeditae*. . . . The inscription is of the second or third century.

3. Brambach, C. I. Rh. 991 *ex praef(ecto) exploratorum Divitiensium militiae quartae equiti Romano* cf. Henzen, *Bull. Inst. Arch.* vol. 25 (1856), p. 91. The inscription is probably of the third century. Regarding the expression *militiae quartae* see

¹ In eight instances *praepositus* is given in the inscriptions; 25, 26 (mentioning same person as 25), 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35. In three cases the command is inferred from the location of the inscriptions; 27, 28, 29. In seven inscriptions the command is inferred from the formulas used; 37, 38, 43 (*sub cura*); 39, 40 (*cura(m) agente*); 42 (*sub cura agente*); 41 (*curam egit*). In ins. 36 we suppose that the centurion is in command because he dedicates in the name of the corps.

²All inscriptions later than Diocletian are omitted, for the *numerus* as a distinctive organization ceased with the army reforms introduced by that emperor.

Seeck, op. cit. vol. 2, p. 27. The *exploratores* always formed *numeri*; compare Mommsen, *Hermes*, vol. 19 (1884), p. 222 and Cagnat, op. cit. p. 307.

4. C. I. L. VIII, 9381 *tribunus n(umeri) Syrorum Mevensium* Compare *Hermes*, vol. 19 (1884), p. 228. When Mommsen wrote, this was the only example of a *tribunus numeri* known. Regarding the date of the inscription see Cagnat, op. cit. p. 308. The corps named was probably not organized before the third century.

5. C. I. L. VIII, 11343; cf. *Ephem. Ep.* vol. 7 (1892), p. 18, no. 51. *Splendidissimus Sufetulensis ordo M(arco) Valgio Marci filio Quir(ina) Aemiliano eq(uiti) R(omano) tribunò n(umeri) Palmyrenorum ob ezimiam in rem publ(icam) suam liberalitatem titulum hac aeternitate signavit.* Cagnat, op. cit. p. 259, places this in the third century on account of the phraseology used.

6. Cagnat, *L'Année Épigraphique*, *Revue Archéologique*, vol. 14 (1889), p. 443, no. 187 *tribuno cohortis octavae praetoriae piae vindicis Severianae Alexandrianae praeposito equitum itemque peditum Iuniorum Maurorum iure gladii tribunos (sic) cohortis undecimae urbanae Severianae Alexandrianae* 222-235 A. D. The officer named commanded the *numerus* probably during the reign of Alexander Severus. Regarding the *numerus* see Cagnat, op. cit. p. 307.

7. C. I. G. 6771 = *Insc. Graec. Siciliae et Italiae*, 2433 *ἑξοχάτου ἀνδρὸς καὶ προφίτου υἱῷ* *πραιφέκτω ἑξπλωρ(ατῶρων) Γερμανικῶν* the regular *militiae equestres* follow. *ἑξοχάτος* is the Greek equivalent of *eminentissimus* which appeared first under Marcus and Verus; cf. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, vol. 3, p. 565.

8. C. I. L. VIII, 9962 *et voto Lentini Prisciani prae[p(ositi?) n(umeri) Syrorum* Compare 4 above. See Cagnat, op. cit. pp. 308 and 314. There is nothing to show necessarily that the commander was of equestrian rank, but *praepositus* is often used to designate commanders of equestrian rank as nos. 2 and 6. No. 4 in this list found at Caesarea mentions a tribune of this same numerus. The present inscription was found at the probable headquarters of the corps. Cagnat distinguishes this corps from the *numerus Syrorum sagittariorum* in Dacia; cf. no. 1 in this list.

9. C. I. L. VIII, 9047 *trib(uno) coh(ortis) Hispanorum* *a militiis praeposito coh(ortis) sing(ularium) et vex(illationi) [e]q(uitum) Maurorum* *[a(nno)] pr(ovinciae) CCXXI*. 260 A. D. Regarding this numerus see Cagnat, op. cit. p. 306.

10. C. I. L. VIII, 9906 *praefect(us) alae exploratorum Pomariensium Severianae* 222-235 A. D. This so-called ala may be included with the numeri as it possesses the characteristics of these bodies; cf. Cagnat, op. cit. p. 307. Except in this one case the alae were never named from the localities where they were stationed but in so far as their names were geographical they were derived from the peoples among whom they were originally enrolled. In all other cases, moreover, *exploratores* were organized as numeri. Ala is, therefore, probably inaccurately used in this inscription.

11. C. I. L. VIII, 9907 *[praef(ecto)] alae exploratorum Pomariensium Gordianae* 238-244 A. D.

12. Ephem. Epig. vol. 7 (1892), 1092 *ve[xi]llatio R(a)etorum Gaesatorum q(uorum) c(uram) a(git)* (name) *trib(unus)*. . . . Lack of praenomen and tribe here suggest the third century. It

is not certain that we have in this inscription the commander of a *numerus* of the regular army. The *Gaesati*, deriving their name from the *gaesum* with which they were armed, were usually provincial militia; cf. C. I. L. V, 536; VIII, 2728; Mommsen, *Hermes*, vol. 22 (1887), p. 549. It is also possible that the tribune is not an officer of the *numerus* but of a cohort to which it was attached. This I consider to be the state of affairs in C. I. L. VII, 1030 and 1037. The officers mentioned in these inscriptions were tribunes of *cohors I Vardulorum* and therefore in authority over the *numerus* stationed at the same point where the cohort was encamped. C. I. L. VII, 1002 shows another instance where a *numerus* was attached to a cohort.

13. C. I. L. XI, 3104 *praepos[ito] [e]xplorationis Seiopensis numeri Aurelianensis praeposito numeri Bri[t]tonum praeposito ann[o]nae expeditionis [Germanicae]* The inscription is fragmentary but the officer is probably of equestrian rank for we have no example of a centurion holding several positions as *praepositus*, while in the case of officers of equestrian rank it is not uncommon.

14. C. I. L. VIII, 9045 *trib(uno) coh(ortis) IIII Syng(am)b(rorum) a militiis primo p(ilo) trib(uno) coh(ortis) IIII vig(ilum) ex dec(urione) al(ae) Thrac(um) pr(ae)p(osito) vex(illationi) eq(uitum) Mauro(rum). . . .* I include this inscription for the sake of completeness although the *cursus honorum* is probably somewhat confused. If, as appears, the *cursus honorum* is in the descending order and *decurio alae* and *praepositus vexillationi* represent independent steps in the promotion, the officer was *praepositus* while still a *principalis*. In that case the *vexillatio equitum Maurorum* probably ranked only as provincial militia at the time of the erec-

tion of the stone; cf. p. 371. Owing to this uncertainty I shall exclude this inscription from the discussion concerning the commanders of the numeri who were of equestrian rank.

In some cases an officer of equestrian rank was given command of all the numeri of provincial militia of a certain province; cf. Mommsen, *Hermes*, vol. 22 (1887), p. 550; *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oesterreich*, vol. 8, p. 22; C. I. L. IX, 3044; X, 4868 and 6089. All these I have omitted as having no bearing on the present discussion.¹

The inscriptions C. I. L. VIII, 285 and XII, 3185 have been excluded from the list as being too fragmentary to offer reliable evidence. C. I. L. VII, 212 mentions a *praepositus vexillationis Raetorum et Noricorum* but the inscription is fragmentary and the indication of the rank of the *praepositus* is wanting. It is, moreover, possible that the body of soldiers is only a detachment (cf. p. 370) of an ala of cavalry; cf. Stappers op. cit. p. 303. It seemed advisable to exclude the inscription from the discussion.

In the thirteen inscriptions cited as mentioning commanders of numeri of equestrian rank we find eleven different corps, there being two inscriptions referring to the *numerus Syrorum* in Mauretania and two to the *ala exploratorum Pomariensium*. The title given to the commander of the numerus is *praefectus* in nos. 3, 7, 10 and 11; *praepositus* in nos. 1, 2, 6, 8, 9 and 13; *tribunus* in nos. 4, 5 and 12.

As has been shown (pp. 337-8) several attempts have been made to establish a chronological distinction between

¹In C. I. L. X, 1203 we have *praepositus numerorum tendentium* in Ponte Absaro. The command, being entrusted to a *primipilaris*, was probably an extraordinary one; cf. p. 358. The numeri were probably only provincial militia each under the command of a *principalis* or veteran detailed from the regular army.

the command of numeri by centurions and by officers of equestrian rank. Comparing the inscriptions mentioning centurion commanders (cf. Appendix A, nos. 25-43, pp. 367-369 above) with those of commanders of equestrian rank above cited (pp. 372-375) we have before us all the evidence for the solution of this question.

So far as the inscriptions can be dated, the *centuriones praepositi* fall in the second half of the second century and first part of the third, one (no. 33) as late as 242 A. D. The commanders of numeri of equestrian rank are found chiefly in the third century but no. 1 is as early as the reign of Marcus and Verus and there are others that might have been in the second century. Evidently, then, the supposition that centurions gradually replaced commanders of equestrian rank is incorrect in the case of the numeri as well as in that of cohorts and alae; cf. pp. 335 ff.

The theory of Cagnat (cf. p. 337) that the centurions were followed by commanders of a higher rank is not opposed to the evidence of the inscriptions. Unfortunately the material is not sufficient to establish it beyond a doubt. For in the case of one numerus only (*numerus Palmyrenorum* at El Kantara) do we find both *centuriones praepositi* and a commander of equestrian rank (cf. Appendix A, nos. 25-32, pp. 367-8 above and p. 373, ins. 5) and in this instance it is simply a conjecture of Cagnat that the tribune was later than the centurions. In any case a chronological distinction can only be made in a very general way, for it is evident that centurion commanders of some numeri were contemporaneous with officers of equestrian rank in command of others. It will further be observed that while the centurion inscriptions outnumber the inscriptions mentioning commanders of equestrian rank, the former mention commanders of only six different corps, the latter of eleven. Strictly speak-

ing the former only prove that two corps were, for a certain time, under the command of centurions, the *numerus Palmyrenorum* and the Brittones.¹

It may be noted that there is a very simple hypothesis for reconciling the conclusion of Mommsen with the observations of Cagnat. Mommsen was led to believe that the centurions as commanders of auxiliary corps increased in the later period. Cagnat's more extended observation of the facts shows that the order of development was apparently exactly the opposite of this. The inscriptions show in general centurions in the early period and commanders of equestrian rank in the later period. But this may be explained by assuming that the men who were promoted from the ranks to the higher positions gained the equestrian titles naturally pertaining to them.² The further investigation of Cagnat would not, therefore, result in a contradiction of Mommsen's conclusion, which seemed to be in line with the general tendency towards disappearance from the army of officers of equestrian descent. This view was well presented by Seeck in *Der Untergang der Antiken Welt*, vol. 2, pp. 25-31.

The essential factor in determining the choice of the commander of a *numerus* as between centurions, prefects and tribunes, was probably the numerical size of the corps, especially if, as has been stated, p. 372, the *numeri* varied in strength from 300 to 900 men. The smaller *numeri*

¹ The various divisions of Brittones, Brittones Triputienses, Brittones Aurelienses, etc. were small in number as appears from the limited extent of the *castella* which they occupied (cf. p. 394). They were probably not independent *numeri* but detachments of the single *numerus Brittonum* (cf. Mommsen, *Hermes*, vol. 19 (1884), p. 228.

² In the list of commanders of *numeri* the officers mentioned in ins. 6 (p. 373) and ins. 14 (p. 375) were advanced to equestrian positions by promotion.

would naturally be placed under the charge of centurions, larger ones would be commanded by prefects and still the largest by tribunes. This would be applying to the *numeri* a practice observed in the choice of commanders for the cohorts and *alae*; cf. p. 347, note 1. It is then evident why we find at the same period some *numeri* under centurions, others commanded by prefects or tribunes. The fact that the number of commanders of equestrian rank increased in the third century would indicate a corresponding increase in the importance and strength of the *numeri*. This in itself is probable, for it is known that in the later period the less Romanized troops were more highly esteemed.

In general we can trace three stages in the history of the *numeri*; first, as provincial militia under the command of a veteran, *evocatus* or *principalis*, serving only for the defence of their own province; second, *numeri* of the regular army commanded by legionary centurions, retaining their national character but liable for service in any part of the Empire; third, a greater assimilation to the *alae* and cohorts as regards dignity, strength and importance under the command of officers of equestrian rank. In the case of some of the *numeri* the second step was probably omitted.

It does not follow, moreover, that the *numerus* of the regular army was always a development from the provincial militia. In the later period it is probable that new *numeri* were organized and admitted at once to the standing army without having served as provincial militia. On the other hand it is not necessary to suppose that the provincial militia was always organized as *numeri*. Our evidence for the existence of provincial militia is found mainly in the less Romanized provinces, chiefly those governed by procurators; cf. Hirschfeld, *Sitzungsberichte der könig. Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften*,

(1889) p. 431; Mommsen, *Hermes*, vol. 22 (1887), p. 552. But in exceptional cases provincial militia may have existed where the conditions permitted an organization on the model of the *ala* or cohort. This was, perhaps, the origin of *cohortes I et II orae maritimae* in Spain; cf. *Hermes*, vol. 22 (1887), p. 555 and Cagnat, *De militiis provincialibus*, p. 19. A similar example is the *ala Augusta Gemina Colonorum*; cf. Cagnat, *op. cit.* p. 83; Mommsen, *Berichte der Sächs. Gesellsch.*, 1852, p. 198. In the same category we may place the origin of the *ala exploratorum Pomariensium* in Mauretania, which Cagnat (*L'Armée Romaine*, p. 307) includes in his list of the *numeri* of that province.

It has been shown that four cohorts, *I Helvetiorum* (Appendix A, inss. 5 and 15) *I Breucorum* (inss. 6 and 7); *II Sardorum* (inss. 8, 9 and 10), *I Belgarum* (inss. 13 and 17) were for a time regularly commanded by centurions (cf. p. 345), being similar to the *numeri* in this respect. There is reason to suppose, moreover, that in the case of cohorts and *alae* commanded by *praepositi* as well as in that of *numeri*, centurions were later supplanted in authority by commanders of equestrian rank. For a tribune of *cohors I Breucorum* (cf. p. 345) and a prefect of *cohors II Sardorum* are known to us at a later period than the centurions in command of the same corps. It is probable that these four cohorts of the regular army developed out of cohorts of the provincial militia and that this fact explains their being for some time under the command of centurions. We have evidence showing that both the Helvetians and Corsicans maintained a provincial militia at a period antedating the first appearance of these four cohorts in the inscriptions; cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* 1, 67 and C. I. L. XIV, 2954.

If this supposition be adopted we have in the case of these cohorts a development in command exactly parallel to that observed in connection with the *numeri* (p. 379), *principalis* or *evocatus*, centurion and finally prefect or tribune. In the case of these four cohorts as well as in that of the *numeri* the corps after enrollment in the regular army retained some features of their former condition as provincial militia which rendered expedient the appointment of centurions instead of officers of equestrian rank to be their commanders.

The conclusion to which an examination of the evidence has now led us may be briefly stated.

Legionary centurions were often detailed and assigned to camps of auxiliary corps situated in the same province. In each of these the centurion was second in command of the fortress or *castellum* and acted as chief-of-staff to the prefect or tribune of the auxiliary corps. Being conversant with the duties which devolved on the commander the centurion was naturally appointed to assume the chief command in cases of temporary absence or disability on the part of the officer of equestrian rank, possibly during an unexpected vacancy. That this was an emergency expedient, dependent upon the circumstances prevailing in each given case, rather than a formal practice is shown by the fact that officers of equestrian rank sometimes assumed the command of auxiliary corps under similar circumstances. Probably the man thus summoned to the temporary command of a cohort or *ala* was regularly called *curator cohortis* or *alae*.

A number of inscriptions exist which from their content have heretofore been supposed to imply the placing of centurions in command of auxiliary corps. Now in several of these the position of the centurion is undoubtedly the same as that generally characterized by the designation

curator. But in others the fact that we find a centurion directing some work of construction by auxiliary troops is not to be taken as implying necessarily that he was commander of the corps to which they belong. Especially is this true when the blocks containing the inscriptions have been found at a distance from the headquarters of the corps named.

In general in regard to the centurions mentioned in connection with cohorts and *alae* no chronological distinctions can be made.

It is found that some of the *numeri* were for a time, regularly under the command of centurions called *praepositi*. But at the same time we find many examples of prefects, tribunes and *praepositi* of equestrian rank as commanders of *numeri*. It is probable that the distinction in command was determined by the size of the corps. In general commanders of equestrian rank are found at a later period than the centurions. In many cases where cohorts and *alae* appear to have been commanded regularly by centurions called *praepositi* it is probable that their origin and development were similar to that of the *numeri*. They originated as provincial militia and retained for a certain time one feature of their former condition; namely, the fact that they were commanded by old and experienced soldiers, not by officers of equestrian rank.

APPENDIX A.

I.

1. C. I. L. III, 6025. Assouan (Syene).

Imp(eratore) Caesar(e) T(ito) Aelio Hadriano |
Antonino Aug(usto) Pio p(atre) p(atriciae) | coh(ors) I
Fl(avia) Cil(icum) eq(uitata) basilicam fecit per |
G(aium) Avidium Heliodorum praef(ectum) Aeg(ypti)
et | T(itum) Flavium Vergilianum praef(ectum) cast(rom)
| cura agente Statilio Tauro c(enturione) leg(ionis)
II Tr(aianae) f(ortis) | curatore coh(ortis) eiusdem. 140
A. D.

2. C. I. L. VII, 587. Cilurnum.

D(is) M(anibus) Aur(elio) Atheno? c(enturioni) |
curatori alae | II Astur(um) stip(endiorum) XV | Ael(ius)
Oimerus? dec(urio) | h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit).¹

3. C. I. L. VIII, 9291. Tipasa.

D(is) M(anibus) | Ulp(ianus) Terti | us curator alae I Con-
tari(or)um | Fl(avius) Tutor emag [= imag(inifer)] he-
res amico pientiss | imo posuit. 150-200 A. D. Cf. pp.
341 and 342.

4. Cagnat, *L'année Épigraphique* contained in the *Revue
Archéologique*, 3rd series, vol. 27 (1895), p. 131; No. 36.
Cf. *Archeografo Triestino*, vol. 20 (1894-95), p. 189.
Aquilaia.

. . . . [c(enturio)] | c(o)hor(tis) III Lusit(anorum)
curat(or) pro praef(ecto) | c(o)hor(tis) I Astur(um) |
aedil(is) desig(natus) | Belino | v(otum) s(olvit).

5. Brambach, C. I. Rh. 1583; cf. 1584 and 1890.
Böckingen.

Fortunae | Respicienti sacr(um) | Nasellius Pro | clianus
c(enturio) leg(ionis) | VIII Aug(ustae) prae | positus
c(o)hor(tis) | I Helvetiorum | Torquato et | Iuliano co(n-

¹See note on this inscription in the *Corpus*. Müller puts the
inscription between 150 A. D. and 200 A. D.

s(ulibus) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).
148 A. D.

6. C. I. L. III, 5918 b = 11936. Pfünz.

[Genio castror] | um T(itus) F(lavius) Rom[a]nus
Ulpia No | viomagi Ba | tavus dec(urio) al(ae) | I Fla-
viae pr | aepositus [cohortis I Breucorum]

7. C. I. L. III, 14370^a. Böhming.

Imp(eratore) Caes(are) Luc(io) Aur(elio) Antonio |
Aug(usto) Commodo Armen(iaco) Parth(ico) | Ger-
m[a]n(ico) Sarm(atico) trib(unicia) pot(estate) VI
co(nsule) III p(atre) p(atriciae) | Spicio Ceriale
leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) vex(illarii) | le-
g(ionis) III Ital(icae) vallum fece(runt) c(uram)
a(gente) Iul(io) | Iu[?]lino c(enturione) leg(ionis) III
Ital(icae) item portas cum | turrib(us) IIII perfec(tas)
ab Ael(io) Forte c(enturione) | leg(ionis) III Ital(icae)
praep(osito) coh(ortis) I Br(eucorum) imperatore III
Bur[ro] [co(n)s(ulibus)]. 181 A. D.

8. C. I. L. VIII, 10949. Hadjar-er-Rum (*Altava*).

[Au]g(usta) Nemesi [sacr(um)] | Iulius Germa | nus
dec(urio) al(ae) Thr(acum) | praepositus co(hortis) |
II Sardor(um) pr(ovinciae) CLXVIII. 208 A. D.

9. Cagnat, *L'année Épigraphique*, *Revue Archéologique*,
3rd series, vol. 17 (1891), p. 258, No. 5. Hadjar-er-Rum
(*Altava*).

Dis Mauris | Salutaribus | Aurelius E | xoratus dec(urio)
| alae Partorum | praepositus | cohortis II | Sardorum Se-
verianae |.

10. Cagnat, *L'année Épigraphique*, *Revue Archéologique*,
3rd series, vol. 13 (1889), No. 54. Ain-Khial.

Deo Sancto | Aulisvae | Call Victo(r) | curante S. Iulio
| [in]genuo p[raep(osito) al(ae) expl(oratorum)] Pom-
| (ariensium) et [coh(ortis)] | [II] Sard[orum].

11. C. I. L. VIII, 21560 = *Ephem. Epig.* vol. 5, (1884),
p. 483, No. 1047. Suik.

. . . . side | sacrum posuit | Aelius Servan | dus de-
c(urio) praepo | situs coh(ortis) II Bre | ucoru[m G] or-
| [di]ane | III Kal(endis) Ian(uariis) Arri | ano et Papo
co(n)s(ulibus) | salvis Augustis (duobus) multis | annis
felici | ter. 243 A. D.

12. C. I. L. III, 8739 = Archäologische Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich, vol. 9, p. 13. Salona (*Salonae*).

. . . . dec(urioni equit(um) p[*raeposito* (?) c]oh(ortis) | III Alpinae. . . .

13. C. I. L. III, 1918. Novae.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | Sulpicius Calvio c(enturio) leg(ionis) I M(inerviae) pr(aepositus) | c(o)h | o(rtis) I Belg(arum) hoc in | loco maiesta | te et numine | eius servatus.

14. C. I. L. VII, 371. Maryport (*Uxellodunum*).

Iovi Aug(usto) | M(arcus) Censorius | M(arci) f(i)lius Voltinia [C]ornelianus c(enturio) leg(ionis) | [*Xfr*]etensis prae | [*post*]tus coh(ortis) I | Hisp(anorum) ex provincia | Narbon(ensi) domo | Nemauso [*v(otum)*] s(*olvit*) | l(ibens) m(erito).

15. Brambach, C. I. Rh. 1559; cf. 1560.¹ Oehringen.

. . . . o leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) [*pr(aetore)*] | coh(ors) I Helve(tiorum) et Britt(ones) Aure(lienses) | sub cura G(aii) V[*aleri Quir(ina)*] | Titi s(= centurionis) leg(ionis?) ex corniculario co(n)s(ularis?) Time of Septimius Severus.

16. Jahrbücher des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande, vol. 53-54, p. 154.

[*Sed*]ato d[*eo sacrum?*]coh(ors) I Seq(uanorum) et [*Raur(acorum)*] c]uram ag[*ente S*]extilio P[*rim*]o c(enturione) leg(ionis) XX[*II im*] p(eratore) Commod(o) VII [*et Publio Helvio Pertinace II co(n)s(ulibus)*]. 193 A. D.

17. C. I. L. III, 8484 = 6362 = 1790. Ljubuski.

Templum Liberi patris et Liberae vetus | tate dilabsum restituit | coh(ors) I Belg(arum) adiectis por | ticibus curam agente | Fl(avio) Victore c(enturione) leg(ionis) I ad(iutricis) f(idelis) | Severo et Pompeiano | II co(n)s(ulibus) 173 A. D.

18. C. I. L. III, 14147* = Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1896, p. 39. Assouan (*Syene*).

¹ See Appendix B.

Imp(eratori) Caesari divi Hadriani fil(io) | divi Traiani Parthici nepoti | divi Nervae pro nepoti | T(ito) Aelio Caesari Hadriano Antonino Aug(usto) Pio | per G(aium) Avidium Heliodorum praef(ectum) Aeg(ypti) et | M(arcum) Oscium Drusum praef(ectum) castror(um) | coh(ors) I Fl(avia) Cilic(um) equit(ata) | curam agente T(ito) Aridio Marcellino c(enturione) leg | (ionis) II Tr(aianae) F(ortis).

19. Ephem. Epig. vol. 7 (1892), 1071. (Amboglanna).

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | coh(ors) I Ael(ia) Da | cor(um) c(uius) c(uram) a(git) Iul(ius) | Marcelli | nus leg(ionis) II | Aug(ustae).

20. C. I. L. III, 14147⁴. Assouan. (*Syene*).

Imp(eratori) Caesari L(ucio) Aurelio Vero Aug(usto) | divi Antonini fil(io) divi Hadriani nepot(i) divi Traiani pronepot(i) divi Nervae abnepote | pont(ifex) max(imus) trib(unicia) potest(ate) II co(n)s(uli) p(atr) p(atr)iae) per | M(arcum) Annium Suriacum praef(ectum) Aeg(ypti) et | L(ucium) Cintasium Casianum praef(ectum) cast(rorum) coh(ors) I Fl(avia) Cil(icum) eq(uitata) | curante Valerio Cordo c(enturione) leg(ionis) II Tr(aianae) Fort(is). 162 A. D.

21. C. I. L. VII, 1084. Nether Cramond, near the Wall of Pius, *Vallum Pii*, near Edinburgh.

Matrib(us) Ala | tervis et | Matrib(us) cam | pestrib(us) coh(ors) I[I] Tungr(orum) ins(tante) | Ulp(io) Scarn | c(enturione) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis).

22. Korrespondenzblatt der Westdeutscher Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst, vol. 11, (1892), p. 81, cf. Cagnat, *L'année Epigraphique*, *Revue Archéologique*, vol. 20 (1892), p. 401, No. 127. Wallsend.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) | coh(ors) IIII Lin | gonum eq(uitata) | cui attendit | Iul(ius) Honor | atus c(enturio) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

23. C. I. L. VII, 1092. Rough Castle, on the line of the Wall of Pius.

Victoria[e] | coh(ors) VI Ner | viorum c c | Fl(avio) Betto c(enturio) leg(ionis) | XX V(aleriae) V(ictricis) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito).

24. C. I. L. III, 10307. Duna-Pentele.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Barsemis Abbei | dec(urio)
ala firma katafractaria | ex numero Hos | ro[en]orum
mag(ister) | coh(ortis) (miliariae) Hemes(enorum) |
n(atione)? d(omo) Carris [e]t | Aur(elia) Iulia coniux |
eius v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) | Aurelia Phici-
mim? | [e]t Aur[e]l(ia) Asalia [e]t fili[a] Barsimia
tit(ulum) | [d]e(dicaverunt) c(um) s(upra) s(criptis).

The ala mentioned was founded by Alexander Severus.

II.

25. C. I. L. VIII, 2494. Aquae Herculis.

Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) M(arco) Aurelio | Severo An-
tonino Aug(usto) bur | gum speculatorum Anto(niniano-
rum) | M(arcus) Val(erius) Senecio leg(atus) eius pr(o)
| pr(aetore) c(larissimus) v(ir) fieri iussit c(uram)
a(gente) G(aio) Iulio Ae | lurione c(enturione) leg(ionis)
III Aug(ustae) Ant(onianae) prae(posito) n(umeri)
H(erculis) Ant(onianiani), 212-217 A. D.

26. C. I. L. VIII, 2496. El Kantara (*Calceus Hercu-
lis*).

Herculi sancto | pro salute do | min[i nostri] | Imp(era-
toris) [Caes(aris) M(arci)] | Au[reli] Se[ve]ri | [Antonini
Au(gusti)] | [et I]u[liae Aug(ustae) ma] | t[ri]s Au-
g(usti) et cast(rorum) et sen]a[t] (us) | et [patriae
curante] | C.]Iu[lio Aelurion]e | prae[p] (osito) n(umeri)
Herculi | s[i]ncolae. 212-217 A. D.

27. C. I. L. VIII, 2497. El Kantara. (*Calceus Her-
culis*).

Malagbelo | Aug(usto) | Sancto sacr(um) | T(itus)
Fl(avius) Mansue | tus c(enturio) leg(ionis) III Aug(us-
tae) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito).

28. C. I. L. VIII, 2498.

Mercuri[o] | [e]t Hercul[i] et Ma[r] | ti sacru[m] |
T(itus) Iulius | Rufus c(enturio) | leg(ionis) III Au-
[g] (ustae) | f(ecit) f(elicite).

29. C. I. L. VIII, 2503.

M(arcus) Cornelius Faus | tus c(enturio) leg(ionis)
III Aug(ustae) |.

30. C. I. L. VIII, 18009. El Kantara (*Calceus Herculis*).

The inscription is fragmentary. The fourth line may be restored [*praepositi*]to nu[*meri Herculis Antoniniani*].

31. C. I. L. VIII, 18007 = 2486. El Kantara (*Calceus Herculis*).

Mercurio Aug(usto) sacr(um) | pro salute imp(eratoris) Caesaris M(arci) Aure | li Antonini Aug(usti) Pii M(arcus) Annius | Valens c(enturio) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) praepositus | n(umeri) Palmyr[*e*]norum pro salute | sua et suorum v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) a(nima).

32. C. I. L. VIII, 18008. El Kantara (*Calceus Herculis*).

Neptuno | Aug(usto) sacr(um) | Q(uintus) Vettius | Iustus c(enturio) | leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae) | praepositus n(umeri) Pal(myrenorum).

33. C. I. L. VIII, 9745. Aquae Sirenses.

[*numini*] | Aquaru | m Sirens(ium) | Porcius | Quintus | dec(urio) al(ae) ex(ploratorum) | praepositus num(eri) | Ambov | p | rovinciae cciii. 242 A. D.

34. Limesblatt, 1894, p. 366 = Cagnat, *L'année Epigraphique*, *Revue Archéologique*, vol. 26 (1895), p. 275, No. 20, Welzheim, on the line of the Roman *limes* in Upper Germany.

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) pro salute dominor(um) Imp(eratorum) | M(arcus) Octavius | Severus c(enturio) | leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) | praeposit(us) | Brit(tonum) et expl(oratorum).

35. Brambach, C. I. Rh. 1739 = *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande*, vol. 52, p. 75, Miltenberg.

In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) | Mercurio | Ci[*mbri*]ano | c(enturio) leg(ionis) or legionarius) p[*raeposi*] | tus n[*um(eri)*] | [*s(ingularium)*] | Open(sium) [*pos(uit)*] | duobus [*As* | *pris*] co(n)s(ulibus). Probably in 212 A. D.

36. C. I. L. VII, 218. Coccium.

Deo san(cto) | [*A*]pollini [*et*] M[*atr*]onis | [*pr*]o salute d(omini) n(ostri) | [*et*] n(umeri) eq(uitum) Sar[*mat(arum)*] | Bremetenn(acensium?) | [*G*]ordiani | P(ompei-

us) Antoni[an]us c(enturio) leg(ionis) VI | vic(tricis) domu | Meliten[s]is (?)

37. Brambach, C. I. Rh. 1745. Amorbach.

Nymphis n(umerus) | Britton(um) | Triputien(sium) | sub cura | M(arci) Ulpi Male | hi c(enturionis) leg(ionis) XXII | Pr(imigeniae) p(iae) f(idelis).¹

38. Brambach, C. I. Rh. 1732. Schlossau.

Fortunae sa[crum] | Brittones Trip(utienses) | qui sunt sub cura | T(iti) Mani T(iti) f(ili) Pollia | Magni Senope | c(enturionis) leg(ionis) XXII P(rimigeniae) p(iae) f(idelis) v(otum) p(osuerunt).

39. Brambach, C. I. Rh. 1751; cf. 1753, 1754 and 1755. Aschaffenburg.

Apollini et | Dianae n(umerus) Brit(tonum) | et explorat(orum) | Nemaningensis c(uram) | agent(e) Aurel(io) | Firmino c(enturione) | leg(ionis) XXII Pr(imigeniae) p(iae) f(idelis) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(aetus) l(ibens) m(erito) idibus | Augustis Orfito et Rufo co(n)s(ulibus). 178 A. D.

40. Limesblatt, 1897, p. 659 = Cagnat, L'année Épigraphique, Revue Archéologique, vol. 31 (1897), 118. Alteberg near Walldürn.

Deae Fortun[ae] | Sanctae balne[um] vetustate conlap | sum expl(oratores) Stu. . . . et Brit(tones) gentiles | officiales Britt(onum) e(t) | deditic(iorum) Alexan(drianorum) de | suo restituer(unt) cu | ra agente T(ito) Fl(avio) Ro | mano c(enturione) leg(ionis) XXII P(rimigeniae) p(iae) f(idelis) | id(ibus) Aug(ustis) Lupo et Maximo | co(n)s(ulibus). 232 A. D.

41. Cagnat, L'année Épigraphique, Revue Archéologique, vol. 37 (1900), p. 510, No. 197. El Kantara (*Calceus Herculis*).

D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) | Agrippa Themis | [f]ilius q(ui) f(uit) | c(enturio) coh(ortis) III Thra | [c]um Syr(orum) item | [t]ranslatu | [i]n coh(ortem) I Ch(a)lci | denor(um) iusso [i]mp(eratoris) curam | [e]git Palmyr(enorum) [s]a(gittariorum) ann(is) X | militavit ann(is) | XIII vix(it) an(nis) LV |.

¹ Regarding the name *Triputienses* see Korrespondenzblatt der Westdeutscher Zeitschrift, vol. 8 (1889), p. 161.

42. Brambach, C. I. Rh. 1548. Hoheburg.
 Ped(atura) n(umeri) Treveror | um p(edes) LXXXX-
 VI | sub cur(a) agente Cres | centino Ræsbecto c(entu-
 rione) | leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae).

43. See inscription 15. The *numerus Brittonum Aureliensium* is there given with the *cohors I Helvetiorum* as being under the direction of the same legionary centurion.

The inscription (Brambach, C. I. Rh. 7) found at Roomburg in Holland might be added to this list. There is no certainty, however, that it concerns a centurion.

APPENDIX B.

In justification of the inclusion of Brambach, C. I. Rh., 1559 (1560) in the list of inscriptions in App. A (no. 15 in the list) the following observations may be made.

Mommsen (*Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1861, p. 229 ff.) explained the abbreviation *s leg* in the seventh line of the inscription as *singularis legati* (compare Mommsen on C. I. L. III, 3272). The same interpretation is adopted by Urlichs (*Jahrbb. des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande*, vol. 60, p. 71 ff.). Cauer in his discussion of the *principales* (*Ephem. Epig.* vol. 4 (1881), p. 475) rejected this reading and suggested that we have in the letter *s* an abbreviation of *centurio*. Apparently we have mention of the same individual in an inscription found at Miltenberg, Urlichs, *op. cit.* p. 52: *Fortunae sacrum G(aius) Valer(ius) Quirina Titus c(enturio) legionis ex corniculario co(n)sularis*. Urlichs supposed that this inscription was later than the one

under discussion (Brambach, C. I. Rh. 1559) inasmuch as the *principalis* there mentioned had now been promoted to the centurionate. According to his interpretation of the inscription we would have this line of promotion; *cornicularius, singularis legati, centurio*. We are to suppose, moreover, that the individual was placed in charge of *cohors I Helvetiorum* while *singularis legati*.

Now the inscription in Miltenberg is a dedication. In a dedication it is not customary to give the *cursus honorum*.¹ The indication *ex corniculario* makes it probable that the dedication was a thank-offering to Fortuna for the promotion to the centurionate. But according to Urlichs the promotion was from *singularis* to *centurio*. Yet this explanation is untenable, for the promotion from *cornicularius* to *singularis legati* is impossible, because the *cornicularius* was the highest in rank among the legionary *principales*. The *singularis legati* or *consularis* was usually a soldier of the auxiliaries.² The *cornicularius* was regularly advanced to the legionary centurionate but there is no example known of such an advancement from the position of *singularis legati*. Finally the assumption that the *singularis legati* could be placed in command of an auxiliary corps is entirely without evidence outside of this one inscription. Cauer is certainly right, the letters *s leg* are the abbreviation for *centurio legionis* or *legionarius*. Regarding the fallacy of Urlichs' argument compare further *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, vol. 11 (1892), p. 316 ff.

¹ Henzen, *Annal. Inst. Arch.* vol. 7 (1850) p. 45.

² Cauer, *Ephem. Eplg.* vol. 4 (1881) p. 401 ff.

APPENDIX C.

The following objection may be raised to my argument regarding the inscription found in the *burgus* near Schlossau (Westd. Zeits. vol. 3 (1884), Korr. Blatt. 91), cf. p. 24. I have assumed that the detachment mentioned in it was sent from Miltenberg to Schlossau. But it has been supposed that Schlossau was at one time garrisoned by the *cohors I Sequanorum et Rauracorum*. If this was at the same time that the watch-tower was built the centurion mentioned in the inscription might have been commander of the entire cohort. For the inscription was found only a mile from Schlossau, the headquarters of the corps.

Now it has been shown that in many cases inscriptional evidence is found indicating the presence of the same corps in corresponding *castella* on the two lines of the *limes* in Upper Germany.¹ This circumstance is discussed in the Westdeutsche Zeitschrift, vol. 6 (1887), p. 51 and in the same periodical, vol. 8 (1889), Korr. Blatt. no. 82. In the latter the writer suggests that we have evidence for the presence of the *cohors I Sequanorum et Rauracorum* at Schlossau as well as at Miltenberg. These two *castella* correspond geographically. A fragmentary inscription with the letter *cho. I* has been found at Schlossau. The author of the article just mentioned adds the *burgus* inscription in the Westdeutsche Zeitschrift to the evidence offered by this fragment and supposes that the cohort was first stationed at Schlossau, later at Miltenberg.

If the cohort was stationed at Schlossau when the watch-tower was constructed the centurion mentioned as directing the work was probably commander (*praepositus*)

¹ We find *cohors I Helvetiorum* at Böckingen and Oehringen, *cohors XXIII Voluntariorum* at Benningen and Murrhardt.

of the cohort and the inscription becomes of no value for the argument in hand. But it will be easy to prove that the *cohors I Sequanorum et Rauracorum* never could have occupied the position at Schlossau and that therefore the objections based upon the supposed presence there of the cohort cannot stand. For a comparison of the size of the *castella* along the two lines indicates that in discussing the parallelism of the corresponding positions a distinction must be made between that portion of the inner line between Wörth and Gündelsheim and that which follows the Neckar from Gündelsheim south. Now Schlossau lies on that portion of the inner line of defence, known as the Mümlinglinie (cf. pp. 351) included between Wörth on the Main and Gündelsheim on the Neckar. That the purpose of the fortifications on this portion of the line must have been different from that of the others is clear from the extent of the circuit of the walls of the several *castella*.

We find the total length of the four sides of various *castella*, reckoned in meters, to be as follows: on the outer line of the *limes*: Miltenberg, 650 (von Cohausen, *Der Röm. limes in Deutschland*, p. 339); Osterburken, 602.85 (Limes Commission, *Lieferung II*); Oehringen, 510 (von Cohausen, l. c.); Murrhardt, 592.20 (Limes Commission, *Lieferung I*); Welzheim, 504 (*Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, vol. 6 (1887), p. 63 ff.); on the line of the Neckar: Benningen, 597 (*Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, vol. 6 (1887), p. 51); on the so-called "Mümlinglinie": Schlossau, 308 (*Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, vol. 3 (1884), *Korr. Blatt.* 91); Hesselbach, 308.93 (Limes Commission, *Lieferung IV*); Würzburg, 307.79 (Limes Commission, *Lieferung IV*); Eulenbach, 302.80 (Limes Commission, *Lieferung IV*); Vielbrunnen, 285 (von Cohausen, l. c.).

It will be observed that the fortresses on the outer line and the one given on the Neckar are of pretty near uniform size. Those on the "Mümlinglinie," on the other hand, are very much smaller. The size of a fortress was of course determined by the size of its garrison.¹

As we know that the garrisons of several of the *castella* on the outer line of the *limes* consisted mainly of one cohort,² we may assume that all these fortresses, with the exception of Walldürn (circuit only 380 meters), were constructed for the purpose of sheltering this number of men.

Turning now to the so-called "Mümlinglinie" we find that the *castella* are of about uniform size but only about half as large as those on the outer line. Evidently they were not intended to receive garrisons as large as auxiliary cohorts. In reality the epigraphic evidence at all these points indicates the presence of garrisons consisting of *numeri* or detachments of *numeri* as the Brittones and *exploratores*. *Numeri* were of various sizes some of only 300 men.³

It follows that *cohors I Sequanorum et Rauracorum* never occupied the *castella* at Schlossau and the proposition stands that the centurion mentioned in the *burgus* inscription was in all probability not the commander of the entire cohort.

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¹ Von Cohausen (op. cit. pp. 336-441) attempts to determine the relation between the extent of the circuit of walls and possible garrison of a Roman fortress.

² Thus at Miltenberg we find *cohors I Sequanorum et Rauracorum* together with a detachment of Brittones (probably a small body) and perhaps a small detachment of legionaries. At Benningen was the *cohors XXIV voluntarium civium Romanorum* together with some *exploratores* (Brambach and Westdeutsche, Zeitschrift, vol. 6 (1887), p. 54). Böckingen on the Neckar line probably corresponded in size with Oehringen since in both we find inscriptions of the *cohors I Helvetiorum*. In Osterburken was *cohors III Aquitanorum equitata*, in Jagsthausen *cohors I Germanorum civium Romanorum*.

³ Mommsen, *Hermes*, vol. 19 (1884) p. 228.

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ERRATA

- Page 88, line 2 for *odmus* read *domus*.
 " 105, " 2 from bottom read *δραχμάς*.
 " 166, " 20 for p. 14 read p. 159.
 " 173, " 24 for p. 15 read p. 159.

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